ALEXANDER'S CAMPAIGNS IN SIND AND BALUCHISTAN AND THE SIEGE OF THE BRAHMIN TOWN OF HARMATELIA

P. H. L. EGGERMONT

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ALEXANDER'S CAMPAIGNS

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BY

P. H. L. EGGERMONT

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The footnotes to passages translated from Greek or Latin into English indicate the classic author, the book, and the *locus*, e.g. Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, VI, 16, 2. Readers who wish to get further information are requested to consult the right column of the list of abbreviations, e.g. Arrianus, *Anabasis Alexandri*; see Robson, *op. cit.*

If the comment on these passages is referred to, the footnote indicates the name of the translator himself, e.g. Robson, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. XV-XVI (*A Geographical Note*).

Some translations are my own, as English versions are lacking so far, viz. Justinus, *Epitoma*; Orosius, *Adv. Paganos*; Ptolemaeus, *Geogr.*; Sircar, *op. cit.*; Lüders, *Beiträge S.P.A.W.* As to the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* I have adapted Schoff's translation to the excellent text edited by Frisk. In the same way I have adapted Rackman's translation to Detlefsen's text of Plinius's *Naturales Historiae*, esp. the toponyms, which I selected from the variant readings quoted in the foot-notes of the latter text.

Aelianus, *Nat. Anim.*	=	Aelianus, *De Natura Animalium*; see Scholfield, *op. cit.*
Ahmad, *op. cit.*	=	S. Maqbul Ahmad, *India and the neighbouring territories in the Kitāb Nuzhat al-mushtāq fi 'khtirāq al-'āfāq of Al-Sharīf Al-Idrīsī*, Leiden, 1960.
Al-Idrisi, *Kitāb*	=	See Ahmad, *op. cit.*
Ansari, *op. cit.*	=	Z.D. Ansari and M.S. Mate, *Excavations at Dwarka*, Poona, 1966.
Aristoteles, *Meteorologica*	=	See Lee, *op. cit.*
Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*	=	Arrianus, *Anabasis Alexandri*; see Robson, *op. cit.*
Arrianus, *Indica*	=	see Robson, *op. cit.*
Bardon, *op. cit.*	=	H. Bardon, *Quinte-Curce, Histoires*, tome I (*Livres III-VI*), Paris, 1961; tome II (*Livres VII-X*), Paris, 1965 (Collection Guillaume Budé).
Beal, *op. cit.*	=	S. Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vols. I and II, London, 1906.
Berve, *op. cit.*	=	H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage*, vol. II : *Prosopographie*, München, 1926.
Bevan, *op. cit.*	=	E. R. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus, vols. I and II, London*, 1902.

Bosworth, *op. cit.*	=	C. E. Bosworth, *Iran and Islam, in memory of the late Vladimir Minorsky*, *Edinburgh*, 1971.
Bretzl, *op. cit.*	=	H. Bretzl, *Botanische Forschungen des Alexanderzuges*, Leipzig, 1903.
Capelle, *op. cit*	=	W. Capelle, *Die Nilschwelle*, in : *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum*, 33, 1914, p. 317-361.
Caroe, *op. cit.*	=	O. Caroe, *The Pathans*, London, 1964.
Carratelli, *Edict*	=	G. P. Carratelli and G. Garbini, *A Bilingual Graeco-Aramaic Edict by Aśoka*, Roma, 1964.
Chantraine, *op. cit.*	=	P. Chantraine, *Arrien, L'Inde*, Paris, 1927 (Collection Guillaume Budé).
Charpentier, *op. cit.*	=	J. Charpentier, *Sagengeschichtliches aus dem Arthaśāstra des Kauṭilya*, in : *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 28, Wien, 1914, p. 211-240, esp. p. 224-230.
C.H.I.	=	Cambridge History of India
Christensen, *op. cit.*	=	A. Christensen, *Le premier chapitre du Vendidad et l'histoire primitive des tribus iraniennes*, København, 1943 (Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-Filologiske Meddelelser, Bind 29, Nr. 4).
Cicero, *De Div.*	=	Cicero, *De Divinatione*; see Falconer, *op. cit.*
Conybeare, *op. cit.*	=	F. C. Conybeare, *Philostratus, The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, vol. I, London, 1969 (Loeb Classical Library).
Cumont, *op. cit.*	=	F. Cumont, *Les Religions Orientales dans le Paganisme Romain*, Paris, 1929.
Cunningham, *op. cit.*	=	A. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, London, 1871, first edition.
Curtius, *Hist. Alex.*	=	Curtius, *Historia Alexandri*; see Rolfe, *op. cit.*
Delaporte, *Atlas*	=	L. Delaporte, A. Piganiol, E. Drioton, R. Cohen, Atlas Historique, I : *L'Antiquité*, Paris, 1948.
Detlefsen, *op. cit.*	=	D. Detlefsen, *Die geographischen Bücher (II, 242 - VI Schluss) der Naturalis Historia des C. Plinius Secundus*, Berlin, 1904 (Quellen und Forschungen zur alten Geschichte und Geographie, ed. W. Sieglin, Heft 9).
Diodorus, *Bibl. Hist.*	=	Diodorus, *Bibliotheca Historica*; see Welles, *op. cit.*

Eggermont, *Alexander* = P. H. L. Eggermont, *Alexander's Campaign in Gandhāra and Ptolemy's List of Indo-Scythian Towns*, in : *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica*, 1, Leuven, 1970, p. 63-123.

Eggermont, *Chronology* = P. H. L. Eggermont, *The Chronology of the Reign of Asoka Moriya*, Leiden, 1956.

Eggermont, *Edicts* = P. H. L. Eggermont and J. Hoftijzer, *The Moral Edicts of King Aśoka*, Leiden, 1962 (Textus Minores, 29).

Eggermont, *Muruṇḍas* = P. H. L. Eggermont, *The Muruṇḍas and the ancient trade-route from Taxila to Ujjain*, in : *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 9, Leiden, 1966, p. 217-296.

Eggermont, *Notes, I* = P. H. L. Eggermont, *New Notes on Aśoka and his successors, part I*, in : *Persica*, 2, 's-Gravenhage, 1965-66, p. 27-70.

Eggermont, *Notes, II* = P. H. L. Eggermont, *New Notes on Aśoka and his successors, part II*, in : *Persica*, 4, 's-Gravenhage, 1969, p. 77-120.

Eggermont, *Notes, III* = P. H. L. Eggermont, *New Notes on Aśoka and his successors, part III*, in : *Persica*, 5, 's-Gravenhage, 1970-71, p. 69-102.

Eggermont, *Review 1* = P. H. L. Eggermont, review on A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, London, 1957, in : *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, 18, Leiden, 1961, p. 169-173.

Eggermont, *Review 2* = P. H. L. Eggermont, review on G. P. Carratelli and G. Garbini, *A Bilingual Graeco-Aramaic Edict by Aśoka*, Roma, 1964, in : *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, 23, Leiden, 1966, p. 87-89.

Eggermont, *Review 3* = P. H. L. Eggermont, review on M. Mayrhofer, *Die Indo-Arier im alten Vorderasien*, Wiesbaden, 1966, in : *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, 27, Leiden, 1970, p. 6-7.

E.I. = Epigraphia Indica

Falconer, *op. cit.* = W. A. Falconer, *Cicero, De Senectute, De Amicitia, De Divinatione*, London, 1922 (Loeb Classical Library).

Foucher, *op. cit.* = A. Foucher, *Notes d'Archéologie Boudhique*, in : *Bulletin de l'École Française*

d'Extrême-Orient, 9, Hanoi, 1909, p. 1-50.

Frick, *op. cit.* = C. Frick, *Pomponius Mela, De Chorographia*, Stuttgart, 1968 (Teubner text).

Frisk, *op. cit.* = H. Frisk, *Le Périple de la Mer Érythrée*, Göteborg, 1927 (Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift 33, 1927 : 1).

Frye, *op. cit.* = R. N. Frye, *Remarks on Baluchi History*, in : *Central Asiatic Journal*, 6, The Hague, 1961, p. 44-50.

Gazetteer = *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford, vols. I - XXVI.

Glotz, *op. cit.* = G. Glotz, P. Roussel, R. Cohen, *Alexandre et le démembrement de son empire*, Paris, 1945 (Histoire Ancienne, deuxième partie : Histoire Grecque, 4:1).

Gonda, *op. cit.* = J. Gonda, *Twenty-Five Sanskrit Inscriptions*, Leiden, 1948 (Textus Minores, 4)

Haig, *Mughul Period* = W. Haig and R. Burn, *The Mughul Period*, Cambridge, 1937 (C.H.I., IV).

Haig, *op. cit.* = M. R. Haig, *The Indus Delta Country, a Memoir chiefly on its Ancient Geography and History*, London, 1894.

Harrison, *Makran* = J. Harrison, *Coastal Makran*, in : *The Geographical Journal*, 97, London, 1941, p. 1-15.

Harrison, *Themis* = J. E. Harrison, *Themis, A Study of the Social Origin of Greek Religion*, Cambridge, 2nd. ed., 1927.

Hart, *op. cit.* = S. V. W. Hart, *Pilgrimage to Hinglaj*, in : *Transactions of the Geographical Society of Bombay for 1839-40*, vol. 3, p. 77 sqq.

Hendrickx-Baudot, *op. cit.* = M. P. Hendrickx-Baudot, *De Figuratief versierde Harappa-Ceramiek*, vol. I (*tekst*), vol. II (*cataloog*; *illustratie*), Leuven, 1972 (thesis Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, to be published within due time).

Herodotus, *Historiae* = see Selincourt, *op. cit.*

Hilgenberg, *op. cit.* = Luise Hilgenberg, *Die kosmographische Episode im Mahābhārata und Padmapurāṇa*, Stuttgart, 1934 (Bonner Orientalistische Studien, Heft 4).

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Journal, 7, London, 1896, p. 387-405 (with map on Alexander's route and on mediaeval routes at p. 452).

Hort, *op. cit.* = A. Hort, *Theophrastus, Enquiry into Plants*, vol. I, London, 1916 (Loeb Classical Library).

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Huber, *Roruka* = Ed. Huber, *Études de Littérature Bouddhique, VIII, La Destruction de Roruka*, in : *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, 6, Hanoi, 1906, p. 335-340.

Humbert, *op. cit.* = J. Humbert, *Syntaxe Grecque*, Paris, 1945 (Collection de Philologie Classique, II).

Jacobi, *Mahārāṣṭrī* = H. Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Mahārāṣṭrī*, Leipzig, 1886.

Jacoby, *F.G.H.* = F. Jacoby, *Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker*, II, Berlin, 1930.

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Jones, *Mahāvastu* = J. J. Jones, *The Mahāvastu*, vols. I-III, London, 1949-56 (= Sacred Books of the Buddhists, vols, 16, 18, and 19).

Justinus, *Epitoma* = Justinus, *Epitoma Historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi*; see Seel, *op. cit.*

Kallenberg, *op. cit.* = H. Kallenberg, *Herodotus, Historiae*, vols. I and II, Leipzig, 1911, 2nd. ed. (Teubner text).

Kent, *op. cit.* = R. G. Kent, *Old Persian*, New Haven, 1950.

Konow, *op. cit.* = S. Konow, *Roruka and Chinese Turkestan*, in : *Acta Orientalia*, 12, Leiden, 1934, p. 136-141.

Krebs, *op. cit.* = N. Krebs, *Vorderindien und Ceylon, eine Landeskunde*, Darmstadt, 1965.

Krom, *Geschiedenis* = N. J. Krom, *Hindoe-Javaanse Geschiedenis*, 's-Gravenhage, 1931.

Krom & van Erp, *Barabudur* = N. J. Krom en T. van Erp, *Beschrijving van de Barabudur*, vol. I and II, 's-Gravenhage, 1920 (vol. I : reproductions; vol. II : description).

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Lambrick, *op. cit.* = H. T. Lambrick, *Sind. A General Introduction*, Hyderabad, 1964 (History of Sind Series, 1).

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Lévi, *Catalogue* = S. Lévi, *Le Catalogue Géographique des Yakṣa dans la Māhāmāyūri*, in : *Journal Asiatique*, 5, Paris, 1915, p. 19-138.

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Lingat, *op. cit.* = R. Lingat, *Encore Ayāya Saṃbodhiṃ à propos de l'Inscription Gréco-Araméenne d'Aśoka*, in : *Journal Asiatique*, Paris, 1968, p. 195-198.

Lulius van Goor, *op. cit.* = Maria E. Lulius van Goor, *De Buddhistische Non, geschetst naar gegevens der Pāli-Literattuur*, Leiden, 1915 (thesis).

Lüders, *Beiträge S.P.A.W.* = H. Lüders, *Weitere Beiträge zur Geschichte und Geographie von Ostturkestan* in : *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Berlin, 1930, p. 7-64.

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Majumdar, *Cunningham's Geogr.* = S. Majumdar Sastri, *Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, edited with introduction and notes*, Calcutta, 1924; see also Cunningham, *op. cit.*

Master, *op. cit.* = A. Master, *Sūrat and Sorath*, in : *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London, 1952, p. 11-12.

Mayrhofer, *op. cit.* = M. Mayrhofer, *Die Indo-Arier im alten Vorderasien*, Wiesbaden, 1966; see also Eggermont, *Review* 3.

Meineke, *op. cit.* = A. Meineke, *Stephani Byzantii Ethnicorum quae supersunt*, I, Berolinum, 1849.

Mela, *Chorographia* = Pomponius Mela, *De Chorographia*; see Frick, *op. cit.*

Miller, *op. cit.* = J. Innes Miller, *The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire*, Oxford, 1969.

Monier-Williams, *Dictionary* = M. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1951.

Munshi, *Imp. Unity* = K. M. Munshi, R. C. Majumdar, A. D. Pusalker, *The Age of Imperial Unity*, Bombay, 1953 (2nd ed.).

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Myres, *op. cit.* = J. L. Myres, *An attempt to reconstruct the maps used by Herodotus*, in : *The Geographical Journal*, 8, London, 1896, p. 605-631.

Narain, *op. cit.* = A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, London, 1957; see also Eggermont, *Review* 1.

Neubert, *op. cit.* = M. Neubert, *Die Fahrt Nearchs nach dem konstanten Stadion*, in : *Petermann's Mitteilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geogr. Anstalt*, 74, Gotha, 1938, p. 136-143,

Nobel, *op. cit.* = J. Nobel, *Udrāyaṇa, König von Roruka*, vol. I : Tibetischer Text, *deutsche Uebersetzung und Anmerkungen*; vol. II : *Wörterbuch*, Wiesbaden, 1955.

Olmstead, *op. cit.* A. T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, Chicago, 1948.

Oltramare, *op. cit.* = P. Oltramare, *Sénèque, Questions Naturelles*, vols. I and II, Paris, 1929 (Collection Guillaume Budé).

Orosius, *Adv. Paganos* = Paulus Orosius, *Historiae adversum Paganos*; see Zangemeister, *op. cit.*

Pease, *op. cit.* = A. S. Pease, *M. Tulli Ciceronis De Divinatione Liber Secundus*, part II, Illinois, 1923 (Univ. of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, 8, no. 3, 1923).

Periplus = *Periplus Maris Erythraei*; see Schoff, *op. cit.*

Perrin, *op. cit.* = B. Perrin, *Plutarch's Lives*, vol. 7, London, 1919 (Loeb Classical Library).

Phil. Ind. = *Philologica Indica*; see Lüders, *Phil. Ind.*

Philostratus, *Vita Ap.* = Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii*; see Conybeare, *op. cit.*

Plinius, *Nat. Hist.* = Plinius, *Naturales Historiae*; see Rackham, *op. cit.*

Plutarchus, *Vita Alex.* = Plutarchus, *Vita Alexandri*; see Perrin *op. cit.*

Ptolemaeus, *Geogr.* = Ptolemaeus, *Geographia*; see Renou, *op. cit.*, and Ronca, *op. cit.*

PW = *Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart.

Quaegebeur, *op. cit.* = J. Quaegebeur, *Le Dieu Égyptien Shaï dans la Religion et l'Onomastique*, Leuven, 1975 (= Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, no. 2).

Rackham, *op. cit* = H. Rackham, *Pliny, Natural History*, = vols. I and II, London, 1967 (Loeb Classical Library).

Renou, *op. cit.* = L. Renou, *La Géographie de Ptolémée*, = *L'Inde* (*VII, 1-4*), Paris, 1925.

Rhys Davids, *Milinda* = T. W. Rhys Dávids, *The Questions of King Milinda*, vols. I and II, New York, 1963 (Dover edition) : reprint of first ed., viz. vol. I, Oxford, 1890, and vol. II, Oxford, 1894.

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PREFACE

Alexander's siege of the Brahmin town of Harmatelia was a favourite literary theme in the Hellenistic age. Historians like Diodorus, Curtius Rufus, and Justinus, as well as the geographer Strabo have dwelt at length upon the poisoned weapons of the defenders, the dream of Alexander, and the miraculous cure of Ptolemaeus, Alexander's friend. Cicero, the distinguished lawyer, philosopher and politician, regarded Alexander's dream as a well-established fact which ougt to be quoted as evidence in support of the theories set forth in his book on divination.

The romantic story caught and held my attention too, and the more so as I noticed that Diodorus and Curtius Rufus had located Harmatelia in the lower Indus valley a few miles to the north of Patala where the Indus parted into two branches in c. 325 B.C., whereas in Strabo's opinion the town was situated in Oritene, viz. the plain of Las Bela in Baluchistan.

When I started comparing and evaluating the various versions, I soon perceived that this minor question could be solved only in the context of a much wider problem, viz. the identification of all the towns and tribes Alexander had conquered during his campaigns in Sind and Baluchistan.

Besides, I felt that the views held by General Cunningham's contemporaries should be compared and correlated with the fresh evidence we have at our disposal nowadays, such as the data collected by Sir Aurel Stein during his geographical and archaeological reconnaissances in Baluchistan, and the numerous historio-geographical notes which Sir W. W. Tarn has inserted in his papers and books on Alexander the Great and on the Bactrian Greeks. Moreover, during the past few years the German geologist H. Wilhelmy has published a series of interesting papers on the Indus river basin in general, and the Indus delta in particular. He has shown how the continuous shiftings of the Indus river beds have contributed to the rise and fall of classic and medieval market-towns in the inland like Patala and Alor, and in the delta like Barbaricum and Tatta.

For my part, frankly speaking I was eager to test the guiding principle according to which Ptolemaeus has composed his *Geographia*, viz. the

"Law" of the strings of geographical names consisting of short pairs and triads of toponyms that are traditionally linked up the one with the other [1]. Moreover, I could avail myself of the opportunity to complete my earlier studies on Barbaricum in the proper context, viz. the string of ancient sea-ports extending from the easternmost Indus branch up to the mouth of the Hingol river in Baluchistan.

Though, in fact, the string of ancient sea-ports extended beyond the Hingol even as far as the mouth of the Euphrates river, it seemed to me that the 64° meridian represented a suitable boundary-line to my studies. In the Maurya period Cape Malan marked the boundary between the Indian empire and the Seleucid kingdom, and beyond the 64° meridian Iranian preponderance clearly prevailed over the influence of Indian culture.

If on the other hand I have allowed myself to dwell upon the satrapy of Parapamisadae situated far to the north of Sind and Baluchistan, it was only, because in connection with my main subject I had to gain an insight into the political situation of the easternmost provinces of the Achaemenid empire. Readers who take a particular interest in the districts of Sattagydia, Gandhāra, Udyāna, and Buner, which altogether belonged to the satrapy of Parapamisadae, are requested to consult Supplement I. Furthermore, I should like to draw the reader's attention to the final chapter VI, in which I have placed the results of my researches in the wider context of Indian and Iranian history. Readers who wish to obtain a survey of the contents of the book may just as well read this chapter first, and then turn to the subject they prefer studying somewhat closer.

I have joined to the text four maps. In this matter I feel greatly indebted to Mr. B. G. Henning, map-designer of the Geological Department of

[1] Eggermont, *Muruṇḍas*, p. 267-268 : "The identification of practically all the topographical names in § 65 illustrates a peculiar point of Ptolemy's system. We cannot expect him to give a regular series of towns and countries situated along the principal trade-roads. On the other hand, we can be sure that he informs us of short pairs and triads of names that are traditionally linked. For example, Kognabanda (Kākanāda/Sānchī) has been mentioned together with Ozoamis (Ujjayinī/Ujjain) because these towns represented two successive stages on the Western trade-route from Taxila to Broach. Similarly, Ostha (Vatsa) and Kosa (Kauśāmbī) are mentioned as a pair because they represent the names of kingdom and capital."; Eggermont, *Alexander*, p. 83 : "It appears that the string of names represented by the list of 'Indo-Scythian' towns along the Indus, consists of small 'molecules' which, everyone of them, contain the names of two or three units that were traditionally linked up the one with the other in a common textual fragment. Though the 'molecule' is a solid whole, its 'atoms" may interchange their respective situations".

the Leyden University, who has been so kind as to draw the maps nos. 1, 2, and 3. The map of the Indus delta is based on Wilhelmy's morphological map of this area and on his reconstruction of ancient Patalene [2]. But for two geological details, viz. the "fourth" Indus branch, which Mr. Henning and I take for an independent river, and the spot where the Indus parted into two branches, the map corresponds to Wilhelmy's reconstruction fairly well. As to the geographical locations of the ancient Greek and Indian sea-ports I have corrected them in accordance with the result of my own researches [3]. The map of the lower Indus valley is based on Wilhelmy's map of the Indus channels and bed of the Nara river [4], and on my own corrected map of the Indus delta. The third map is an independent version of the one Sir Aurel Stein joined to his paper on Alexander's retreat from India, see Stein, *Tour Las Bela*, p. 195. Finally, the fourth map is a copy of the sketch map drawn by G. B. Greenough in c. 1852. In this connection I thank Mr. F. C. Wieder, managing director of E. J. Brill's Printers & Publishers, Leyden, for his having kindly placed at my disposal the cliché made by Mr. R. Smitskamp after the original manuscript map [5].

As to the orthography of the many geographical names referred to in this book I have followed the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. 26, *Atlas* : so Shorkot, and not Shōrkōṭ, but on the other hand Gandhāra, and not Gandhara, because it is a Sanskrit designation.

In conclusion I desire to acknowledge my obligation to the board of the "Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft" for the invitation to

[2] resp. Wilhelmy, *Indusdelta*, p. 180, figure 2, and Wilhelmy, *Indusdelta*, p. 183, figure 3A. The key-stone of all the maps of the ancient Indus delta is Lambrick's identification of the Aban Shah hill with the Island in the Sea where Alexander the Great anchored after having left the mouth of the westernmost Indus branch, see p. 30. This identification involves that the mouth of the westernmost Indus branch was situated opposite to the present Aban Shah hill, viz. near the present Pir Patho hill, see Wilhelmy, *Indusdelta*, p. 188, and Lambrick, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

[3] As to the geographical situation of Patala, see Supplement II. Regarding the Gulf of Eirinon and the Gulf of Barace the reader is requested to take into account that the shallow waters of the mangrove-swamps between Crocala and Barbaricum are identical with the Gulf of Eirinon, and that the proper Gulf of Barace is *not* represented by the wide inlet of the Arabian Sea, but by the bay adjacent to the swamps of the Gulf of Eirinon near Barbaricum, see p. 45. I regret not having been in a position to correct the map accordingly.

[4] Wilhelmy, *Sarasvati*, p. 88, figure 2.

[5] This map was first published by Robertson, *op. cit.*, p. 18; it came under my notice when I saw it, printed on the cover of Brill's Catalogue nr. 455 : "Geography & Ethnography", 1973.

participate in the 18th Conference of German Orientalists held at Lübeck 1 - 6 october 1972. The interest which the participants took in my lecture on *Alexander der Grosse und die Brahmanenfestung Harmatelia* has stimulated me to continuing my researches in the field of historio-geographical studies. In this respect I wish to thank two scholars who have given me valuable information, Prof. Dr. F. Wilhelm, Munich Univ., for his informing me of Wilhelmy's studies on the Indus river basin, and Prof. Dr. Ét. Lamotte, Univ. Cath. Louvain, for his pointing out to me the literature regarding Roruka, capital of the Sauvīras.

Moreover I feel indebted to Prof. Dr. A. Scharpé, Gand Univ. and Amsterdam Univ., for his giving me access to the valuable collection of Indian maps in the Indological Seminar at Gand, and to Mr. R. Stroobandt, licentiate and assistant at the Gand Univ., for his advises during my visits to the library of the Indological Seminar.

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Rijswijk (ZH), 1974 P. H. L. EGGERMONT

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION : SOURCES AND AUTHORS

If I prefer the line of march traced by Arrianus [6] to the itineraries handed down by Diodorus Siculus [7] and by Curtius Rufus [8], it is because the former has availed himself of the best possible sources [9] :

"Wherever Ptolemy son of Lagus and Aristobulus son of Aristobulus have agreed in their histories of Alexander son of Philip, I record their story as quite accurate; where they disagree I have chosen what I feel to be more likely and also better worth the narrating".

Both, Ptolemaeus I Soter, king of Egypt (306-285 B.C.), as well as the engineer Aristobulus started writing their memoirs late in their life. It is certain that Ptolemaeus wrote his book in between 288 and 283/282 B.C., the year of his death [10], but opinions differ as to the date of Aristobulus's History of Alexander. Tarn has tried to show that the book was out a few years before the one written by Ptolemaeus [11], whereas Bradford Welles has pointed out that Aristobulus must have used the record on the Caspian Sea, written by general Patrocles, who served under Seleucus I and his son in between 285 and 280 B.C. [12]. As the relevant passage in Strabo's Geographica is decisive, one should, in my opinion, take it for granted that Aristobulus wrote his book only after the death of king Ptolemaeus [13].

[6] Flavius Arrianus, A.D. 96-180, appointed governor of Cappadocia (131-137) by Emperor Hadrianus, archon at Athens (147), author of the *Anabasis Alexandri* and the *Indica*.

[7] Diodorus Siculus, author of the *Bibliotheca Historica*, written in between 56 and 36 B.C.

[8] Q. Curtius Rufus, author of the *Historia Alexandri*, which is supposed to have been published during the reign of emperor Claudius, A.D. 41-54.

[9] Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, I, Preface, 1.

[10] Tarn, *Alexander*, II, p. 43.

[11] Tarn, *Alexander*, II, p. 42-43.

[12] Welles, *op. cit.*, p. 11, note 1; for the date of Patrocles, see Tarn, *Alexander*, II, p. 19.

[13] Strabo, *Geogr.*, XI, 7, 3 : "Aristobulus declares that the Oxus is the largest of the rivers he has seen in Asia, except those in India. And he further says that it is navigable (both he and Eratosthenes taking this statement from Patrocles)".

Both, the king and the engineer, knew the matter they were writing about from personal experience. Ptolemaeus had reaped glory as a general in Alexander's service, and Aristobulus had been charged by Alexander with various important commissions [14].

A third source which Arrianus had at his disposal was the log-book which admiral Nearchus had kept during his coastal voyage along the Indus delta and the Makran coast [15]. It appears that he availed himself of a manuscript which was superior by far to the one which the Roman admiral Plinius [16] had summarized about eighty years earlier. Anyway, Plinius apologizes to his readers for the deficiency of his manuscript [17] :

"The record of the voyage of Onesicritus and Nearchus does not include the names of the official stopping places nor the distances travelled".

Arrianus had the record of Onesicritus at his disposal as well, but he disliked him [18] :

"Nearchus he [19] appointed admiral of all the fleet, and the pilot of his own vessel was Onesicritus, who in the history he wrote of Alexander told this falsehood among others, that he was admiral, though a mere pilot".

Obviously, Onesicritus belonged to the group of those writers about whom Arrianus writes [20] :

"Parts, however, of the records of others, such as appeared to me worthy of narration and not wholly untrustworthy, I have included as so much tradition about Alexander".

The *argumentum ex silentio* is that Patrocles took to writing only after 280 B.C., and as Ptolemaeus died in 283/282 B.C., three years after his abdication in 285 B.C., it is evident that Aristobulus must have borrowed details from Patrocles's book only after the death of Ptolemaeus.

[14] Aristobulus was charged to repair the tomb of Cyrus the Great, see Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, VI, 29, 10, and in India he was in command of a reconnoitring-party, see Strabo, *Geogr.*, XV, 1, 19, quoted in full at p. 14-15.

[15] Arrianus, *Indica*, 18-42.

[16] C. Plinius Secundus, usually called Plinius Maior, A.D. 23-79, served in Germany, procurator of Spain at the end of Nero's reign, later on admiral of the fleet, died as a victim of his scientific curiosity when studying the eruption of the Vesuvius, author of the *Naturales Historiae*, completed in A.D. 77.

[17] Plinius, *Nat. Hist.*, VI, 96.

[18] Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, VI, 2, 3; the text refers to Alexander's voyage along the Hydaspes and the Indus; later on Onesicritus served as a helmsman on the vessel of Nearchus during the famous coastal voyage, see Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, VII, 20, 9.

[19] i.e. Alexander.

[20] Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, I, Preface, 3.

From these words one may infer that e.g. the legend of Alexander's sojourn at Nysa in the Kabul valley was in Arrianus's opinion "not wholly untrustworthy", for he has not failed to relate this romantic story [21]. However, by way of precaution he has detached the tale from its proper context : the expedition in the Kabul valley [22]. However untrustworthy the legend may have seemed to Arrianus, it has still preserved from oblivion a fact which has escaped the notice of the scholars so far. The chief of Nysa bears the name of Acuphis, which is related to the name of the *Ākaufačiyā*, or "mountaineers", mentioned in the Persepolis inscription of Xerxes [23]. One should, therefore, take into account that tales borrowed from the so-called Alexander romance may give valuable indications on the geographical background of Alexander's expeditions.

To the sources which Arrianus apparently rejected belongs the history written by Clitarchus. Though this author was famous in Hellenistic times, Arrianus has never quoted his name. On the other hand the records written by Diodorus and Curtius Rufus abound in quotations. The chronological relation of Clitarchus to Ptolemaeus on the one hand, and to Aristobulus on the other, has given rise to the so-called "Clitarchus problem" which was hotly debated on by classic scholars for many years. Some fifty years ago scholars united on the solution represented by the next chronological series : *Clitarchus - Ptolemaeus - Aristobulus* [24]. However, in 1948 Tarn shattered the petrified dogma by arguing that Clitarchus was a later writer than Aristobulus [25]. Unfor-

[21] Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, V, 1-2.

[22] Cf. Curtius, *Hist. Alex.*, VIII, 10, 7-18, where the Nysa story is told in the proper context.

[23] Kent, *op. cit.*, p. 151 (= Xerxes, Persepolis H); see also Eggermont, *Review 1*, p. 172.

[24] F. Jacobi, *Kleitarchos*, in PW, Halbband 21, Stuttgart, 1921, p. 622-654, esp. p. 626.

[25] Tarn, *Alexander*, II, p. 29-38 (= section D). Welles, *op. cit.*, vol. 8, p. 11, note 1, is wrong if he believes that the passage in Diodorus, *Bibl. Hist.*, II, 7, 3, bears evidence to Clitarchus's having accompanied Alexander during the expedition. The text runs : "Taking the Èuphrates river into the centre she [= Semiramis] threw about the city a wall with great towers set at frequent intervals, the wall being 360 stades in circumference, as Ctesias of Cnidus says, but according to the account of Cleitarchus and certain of those who at a later time crossed into Asia with Alexander, 365 stades" &c. From the text one can conclude only that both, Clitarchus as well as those who crossed into Asia with Alexander, were later than Ctesias of Cnidus. Moreover the Greek wording does not suggest it : *Κλείταρχος καὶ τῶν ὕστερον* &c. If Diodorus had wanted to suggest a close connection between Clitarchus and Alexander's companions, he would have written : *Κλείταρχός τε καὶ τῶν ὕστερον* &c.

tunately, Tarn went a bit too far when he tried to make it probable that Ptolemaeus was a later writer than Aristobulus as well so that the chronological series should become : *Aristobulus - Ptolemaeus - Clitarchus.* I do not agree. After having read Tarn's arguments several times, and after having compared the original sources [26] I take it for certain that the series is as follows : *Ptolemaeus - Aristobulus - Clitarchus.*

From this conclusion it follows that with regard to the source material Clitarchus was very much in the same position as Arrianus, for both they were acquainted with the books written by Ptolemaeus, Aristobulus and Nearchus. It explains why occasionally the versions of the three main authors, Arrianus, Diodorus, and Curtius, appear to represent distinct summaries of the same story. When I studied the three reports of Alexander's action in Buner, I observed that they completed the one the other to such an extent that one Latin expression occurring in Curtius's version turned out to be the exact counterpart of the Greek equivalent given by Arrianus's text [27].

This basic unity is caused, I suppose, by the lasting effect Ptolemaeus's book must have had on later authors. However, if Diodorus and/or Curtius deviate from the main line, it is, most probably, due to the interference of Clitarchus, whose work served as an important source-book for these authors [28].

[26] See p. 1, and *ibidem*, note 13.

[27] Eggermont, *Alexander*, p. 94 *in fine* — 98.

[28] Clitarchus is known to have introduced into the history of Alexander excessive amounts of slain enemies as well as pro-Ptolemaic legends, cf. Curtius, *Hist. Alex.*, IX, 8, 15 : "Clitarchus states that 80,000 Indi were killed in that region", and Curtius, *Hist. Alex.*, IX, 5, 21 : "Clitarchus and Timagenes are our authorities for the statement that Ptolemy, who was later king, was present at this battle, but he himself, who certainly was not inclined to depreciate his own glory, has written that he was not there, since he had been sent on an expedition".

CHAPTER II

ALEXANDER'S CAMPAIGN IN SIND

§ 1. From the confluence of the rivers to the Indus delta

After having conquered the Punjab Alexander fixed the meeting of the rivers as the southern boundary of the satrapy of Philippus [29]. In Alexander's times the combined Punjab rivers joined the Indus at a short distance to the south of Uch near the spot where nowadays the Chenab empties into the Sutlej [30]. At present the Panjnad, or Five Rivers' Stream, joins the Indus near Mithankot more than 60 miles to the south-west of Uch.

The Macedonian conqueror ordered an Alexander town to be built near the confluence, and he caused Craterus and the greater part of the army and the elephants to be ferried across the Indus to the left, or eastern, bank since the journey along that side seemed easier, and the tribes thereabout were supposed to be less hostile. He himself sailed down the river to the royal city called Sogdia, where he ordered another new city to be built. There he appointed Oxyartes, his father-in-law, as satrap of Sind [31] :

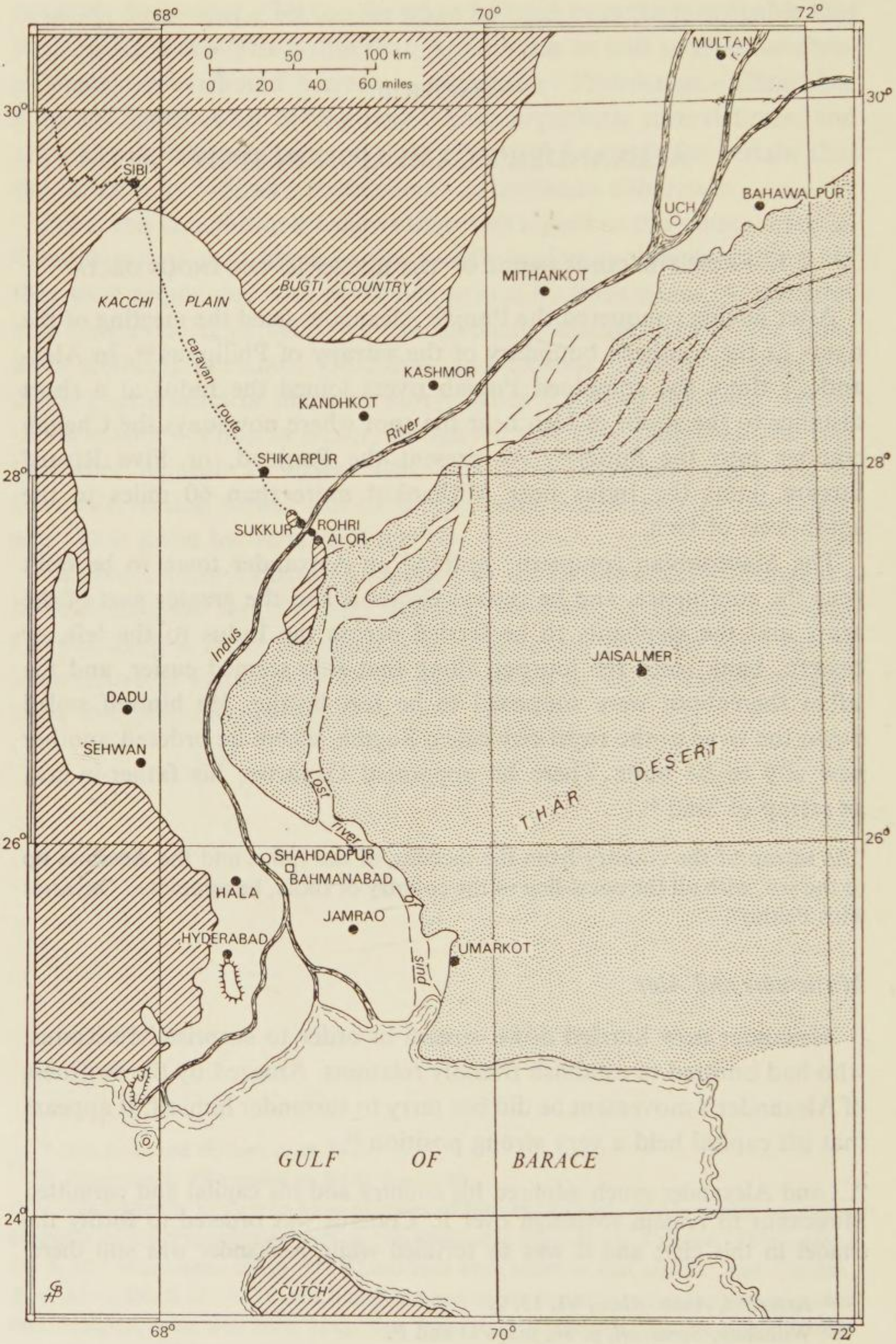
"As satrap of the country from the meeting of the Indus and the Acesines up to the sea, with all the coast-line of the country of India, he appointed Oxyartes with Peitho".

Musicanus and Alor

Alexander now hurried down-stream in order to surprise Musicanus, who had omitted to establish friendly relations. Amazed by the swiftness of Alexander's movement he did not tarry to surrender himself. It appears that his capital held a very strong position [32] :

"... and Alexander much admired his country and his capital and permitted Musicanus to remain sovereign over it. Craterus was ordered to fortify the citadel in this city; and it was so fortified while Alexander was still there,

[29] Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, VI, 15, 2.
[30] Wilhelmy, *Sarasvati*, p. 86, maps D and F.
[31] Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, VI, 15, 4. See also p. 22, and *ibidem* note 99.
[32] Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, VI, 15, 7.



Map 1 : The lower Indus valley c. 325 B.C.

and a garrison was placed there, since the position seemed to Alexander very convenient for keeping a hold over the tribes over which he was keeping watch in the neighbourhood".

Musicanus's country made a favourable impression on the Greek and Macedonian soldiers. Arrianus says that it was reported to be the richest of all India, and Onesicritus dwells at length on the prosperity of its inhabitants [33]. It is mainly on the strength of this evidence that Cunningham identified the town with Alor, the early medieval capital of Sind [34]. Its ruins are situated five miles to the south-east of Rohri on an outlier of the Kirthar range, which consists of eocene limestone and which stretches in a north-southern direction over a distance of some forty miles [35].

In the beginning of the VIIth century A.D. Alor was the capital of an extensive kingdom bordering on Kashmir and Kanauj in the north and the east, and extending as far as Makran in the west. Only in A.D. 712 Alor succumbed to the attacks of the Muslim forces led by Muḥammad ibn Qāsim [36]. Though the Abbasid Caliph Al-Manṣūr (A.D. 754-775) ordered a new capital to be built, viz. Manṣūra, situated at the apex of the Indus delta, Alor continued to flourish. The Muslim geographer Al-Idrīsī (A.D. 1100-1166) has handed down [37] :

"Al-Rōr is a beautiful town. It has a large population and multitude of people. It has busy markets and a profitable trade, and is well fortified, having two city walls round it. The river [38] flows by on its western side. Its inhabitants have a luxurious and prosperous livelihood. In size it compares with Multān".

As a gap of nine centuries separates the capital of Musicanus from the medieval capital of Sind, the identity cannot be regarded as strictly

[33] Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, VI, 15, 5; Strabo, *Geogr.*, XV, 1, 34.

[34] Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 257-259.

[35] Wilhelmy, *Indus*, p. 272-273; see *ibidem*, maps at p. 273.

[36] Munshi, *Class. Age*, p. 164-172, esp. p. 165 and 171.

[37] Ahmad, *op. cit.*, p. 44 (= Al-Idrīsī, Kitāb, II, 7, 24); as to the identification of Alor with Al-Rōr, and the Arabic variant readings, see Lüders, *Beiträge S.P.A.W.*' p. 57-58 (= Lüders, *Phil. Ind.*, p. 651-652).
Al-Idrīsī, member of the Ḥammūdid dynasty of Spain, born in Ceuta, geographer at the court of Roger II, Norman king of Sicily (A.D. 1097-1154), and William I, the Bad (A.D. 1154-1166), followed the geographical conceptions of Ibn Khurradādhbih, and those of Ptolemaeus.

[38] The Mihrān is meanst, the Arabic designation of the lower course of the Indus, see Ahmad, *op. cit.*, p. 64. and *ibidem*, p. 111 : "According to Mas'ūdī, the river is called Mihrān when, flowing down from the north, it reaches the town of Rōr. Then it divides into two branches, which reunite at Shākira (Mirpur Sākra), and from there the river flows on into the sea".

proven, but there are two strong arguments in its favour. In the first place the ridge on which Alor lies is known to represent one of the two fixed spots along which the Indus flows, the other place being the narrows of Attock, situated not far from Undabhāṇḍa (modern : Und), where Alexander crossed the river from Gandhāra to the territory of Taxila. In between these points the Indus river bed has shifted many a time, the general direction of these shifts being to the west in accordance with the Law of Bear, who attributes it to the rotation of the earth [39]. At present the Indus pierces the limestone ridge at the Gates of Sukkur-Bukkur, where the barrier supports the railway-bridge and likewise the famous Sukkur-Rohri barrage. Wilhelmy has shown that these Gates as well as three other gaps situated resp. at Sukkur, close to the south of Rohri, and close to the north of Alor, came into existence in a *geological* past so that there cannot be any doubt about its representing a fixed point of the Indus course in a *historical* past [40]. From the passage I have quoted from Al-Idrīsī's geography it appears that in medieval times the Indus passed Alor close to the north by the fourth gap I have mentioned above.

Cunningham supposed that in addition the town was protected on the eastern side by the Nara [41]. The Nara is a dry river bed which once, in the period of the Indus Civilization (c. 2500-1750 B.C.), was a portion of the mighty Lost River of Sind. It was fed by the waters of the Proto-Sutlej, the Sarasvati, and the Proto-Jumna, and independent from the Indus river system it flowed from the north-east up to the lime-stone ridge of Rohri/Alor, where it curved southward and struggled as a rival Indus to the Rann of Cutch [42]. Starting from Rohri the modern Eastern Nari Canal still follows partly this ancient river bed southward.

However, Wilhelmy has shown conclusively that in c. 325 B.C. this river system had ceased to be a perennial watercourse. Only temporarily it may have served as a receptacle for the overflow of Indus water, but it did not play any part whatsoever in the regular shipping-traffic [43]. Moreover, in view of various historio-geological considerations

[39] Wilhelmy, *Indus*, p. 266, 2nd column, and p. 273, 2nd column; Krebs, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

[40] Wilhelmy, *Indus*, p. 273, 2nd column.

[41] Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

[42] Wilhelmy, *Sarasvati*, p. 86; I replaced Wilhelmy's designation of "Veda-Sutlej" by "Proto-Sutlej" in order to avoid confusion with the course of the Sutlej in Vedic times. The course of the Sutlej in Vedic times is called by Wilhelmy the "Sarasvati-Sutlej". See Wilhelmy, *Sarasvati*, maps A and B opposite to p. 86.

[43] Wilhelmy, *Sarasvati*, p. 90-91, and Wilhelmy, *Indusdelta*, p. 184, 2nd column :

Wilhelmy suggests that the territory of Musicanus extended from Kashmor in the north by Kandhkot to Shikarpur in the south [44].

There is a second argument in favour of Alor's identity with the capital of Musicanus. Alor is situated at the other end of the ancient caravan route leading from Kandahar on the Iranian plateau by the Khojak and Bolan passes into the Kacchi plain, and then by Shikarpur to Sukkur and Alor on the Indus. The identification would explain the prosperity of the citizens of Musicanus's capital. The town must be supposed to have commanded the water-route to the Indus delta, and to have been an important trans-shipment centre for the goods conveyed from Arachosia in Iran to the Indus valley. In fact there are indications to the effect that the country of Musicanus was dependent on the satrap of Arachosia in Achaemenid times. Curtius Rufus has handed down a valuable piece of evidence in connection with the Malli and the Sudracae, who had offered a stout resistance to the Macedonian invader in the southernmost portion of the Punjab [45] :

"The king, after holding a council, admitted the surrendered peoples into his protection, imposing upon them the tribute which both nations were paying to the Arachosii".

If these Punjabi tribes had to pay tribute to the Persian satrap of Arachosia, one may take it for certain that the tribe of the Musicani [46] depended on Arachosia's governor as well.

Porticanus and the Praesti

After having settled the administration of Musicanus's territory Alexander collected a picked force consisting of archers, Agrianes [47], and cavalry, and he attacked Oxycanus, a nomarches [48], who had failed to surrender himself and his country [49] :

"Es lässt sich aber nachweisen, dass der in vedischer Zeit am Ostrand der Indusebene verlaufende 'Urstrom' (= Sarasvati) bereits im vor-alexandrinischer Zeit zu verkümmern begann und später nur noch einen gelegentlich benutzten Hochwasserkanal dargestellt hat".

[44] Wilhelmy, *Indus*, p. 272, first column.

[45] Curtius, *Hist. Alex.*, IX, 7, 14.

[46] In Curtius's opinion the *tribe* was called Musicani, see Curtius, *Hist. Alex.*, IX, 8, 8-10.

[47] The Agrianes, or Agriani, members of a Thracian tribe living in the area of the upper Strymon river in Macedonia; armed with bows and javelins, they served as special commandos.

[48] In Egypt the "nomarches" is affected to the supervision of agriculture, royal

"Two of the largest cities in Oxycanus' province he took at the first assault, and in the second of these Oxycanus himself was captured. All the plunder Alexander handed over to the army, but the elephants he took away himself. Other cities in the same district surrendered on Alexander's approach, no one resisting, so completely had the spirit of all the Indians been broken by Alexander and Alexander's good fortune".

From the great number of cities mentioned in the text it appears that Oxycanus must have ruled over an extensive country. It stretched from some undetermined spot to the south of Sukkur down to the apex of the Indus delta [50]. In this connection the reader should be aware that all these cities should be sought for far to the east of the present wide westward curve of the Indus running from Sukkur past Sehwan to Hyderabad. According to Wilhelmy's reconstruction the river flowed more or less parallel to the edge of the Thar desert in c. 325 B.C. [51].

In contradistinction to Arrianus all the other writers call the ruler Porticanus, and *not* Oxycanus [52]. The designations are unlike to such an extent that one cannot possibly regard them as variant readings. As in general the Alexander historians used to call Indian kings or chiefs after the countries, towns or tribes they ruled, it is possible that the names of Oxycanus and Porticanus are derived from two different cities, viz. the two large cities Alexander had taken in the same area. In order to get conclusive evidence I consulted the list of towns situated alongside of the Indus river, which Ptolemaeus has handed down in his Geography [53] :

(§ 57) "And along the river itself :

Embolima	*('Εμβολίμα)*
Pentagramma	*(Πενταγράμμα)*
Asigramma	*('Ασιγράμμα)*
Tiausa	*(Τιαύσα)*

domains and taxes; at a later period he handled the collection of taxes exclusively. In the Seleucid empire the designation is unknown, see Timmer, *op. cit.*, p. 226-227. Doxareus, the governor of the plain of Chach, Sanskrit : Cukhsa, in between Taxila and the Indus, is called a "nomarches", see Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, V, 8, 3, and Eggermont, *Alexander*, p. 115-117.

[49] Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, VI, 16, 2.

[50] It was the last country Alexander conquered before entering Patala, see p. 16-22 (Sambus and the Bolan pass); on the shifting apex of the Indus delta, see Wilhelmy, *Indusdelta*, p. 178-179, esp. p. 179, first column.

[51] See note 4.

[52] Curtius, *Hist. Alex.*, XI, 8, 11-12; Diodorus, *Bibl. Hist.*, XVII, 102, 5; Strabo, *Geogr.*, XV, 1, 33.

[53] Ptolemaeus, *Geogr.*, VII, 1, 57-59.

	Aristobathra	*('Αριστοβάθρα)*
	Azeica	*('Αζείκα)*
(§ 58)	Pardabathra	*(Παρδαβάθρα)*
	Pisca	*(Πίσκα)*
	Pasipeda	*(Πασιπήδα)*
	Susicana	*(Σουσικάνα)*
	Bonis	*(Βωνίς)*
	Cocala	*(Κωκάλα)*

(§ 59) On the islands situated further down the river (are) the following towns :

Patala	*(Πατάλα)*
Barbara	*(Βαρβάρα)*

All the names at the top of the list are borrowed from a text-fragment which describes the Gandhāra-Buner area to the west of the upper Indus, and the opposite bank to the east of it. Embolima, Sanskrit : Ambulima, is identical with the village of Ambela, situated near the Ambela pass by which Alexander marched from the plain of Gandhāra into the Buner area. Asigramma is, probably, identical with the site of Asgram situated to the west of the Indus just outside the extreme north-east corner of the Peshawar district. Tiausa, Sanskrit : Cukhsa, is the ancient district to the east of the Indus, the capital of which was Taxila. The name is still preserved by the plain of Chach which stretches along the left bank of the Indus above Attock. Finally, Aristobathra, Sanskrit : Arişṭapura, Pali : Ariṭṭhapura, is identical with Shahbazgarhi, situated in the centre of the plain of Gandhāra a few miles to the east of Hoti Mardan [54].

The toponyms at the bottom of the list belong to the Indus delta. Cocala is no town at all, but it is identical with the small sandy island of Crocala where Nearchus, Alexander's admiral, anchored after having just left the mouth of the eastern branch of the Indus. Patala is the ancient town where in c. 325 B.C. the Indus parted into two branches, and Barbara, otherwise called Barbaricum, was an ancient port situated on a small island just opposite to the middle branch of the Indus [55].

[54] Eggermont, *Alexander*, p. 93 : Embolima; Stein, *Tour Upper Swat*, p. 71, note 4 Asigramma; Eggermont, *Alexander*, p. 115-117 : Tiausa; Eggermont, *Alexander*, p. 71-74, and p. 83-86 : Aristobathra.

[55] Eggermont, *Alexander*, p. 78 : Cocala; Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, VI, 18, 2 : Patala; Eggermont, *Alexander*, p. 79-82 : Barbaricum.

The toponyms mentioned in between the places belonging to the upper Indus area and the geographical names connected with the Indus delta represent, most probably, towns, regions or tribes which belong to the area of the united Indus course from the meeting of the rivers down to the apex of the delta. This conclusion is supported by the name of Susicana, a corrupt reading of Musicana, viz. the region of Alor.

In this connection it is not too far-fetched to suppose that Azeica represents the town from which the name of Oxycanus is derived, and the more so as there exists a variant reading Axica (*'Αξίκα*) [56]. If so, the next toponym of Pardabathra must represent the town from which the name of Porticanus is derived. Once again we have to do with a pair of toponyms which are traditionally linked up the one with the other in accordance with Ptolemaeus's Law of the strings of geographical names consisting of short pairs and triads of toponyms [57]. As, probably, the second part of Parda-bathra is the Greek transcription of Sanskrit *pura*, or town, the first part of the name, viz. Parda, may be compared with Porti-, the first part of Porti-canus [58].

Curtius Rufus has handed down the name of Porticanus's tribe [59] :

"From there he arrived at the Praesti, who were an Indian tribe as well. Their king was Porticanus, who with a great force of his subjects had shut himself up in a fortified city".

In my opinion the name of the Praesti represents just another variant reading of Porti- in Porticanus, and Parda- in Pardabathra. The equivalence fits in very well with the next information supplied by Plinius [60] :

[56] Renou, *op. cit.*, p. 26, note on line 11.

[57] See p. XXII, and *ibidem*, note 1.

[58] Cf. the identification of Aristobathra with Arişţapura, Eggermont, *Alexander*, p. 85; however, according to Petech *-bathra* may represent the Sanskrit ending *-vatī*, see the letter d.d. 2-9-70, in which he informed me : "It occurs to me that the final *-batis* (in Orobatis) and *-bathra* could be the final *-āvatī*, *-vatī*, which the Chinese transcriptions of Indian toponyms add almost at will at the end : *Gandhāvatī* for *Gandhāra* etc. Cf. my *Northern India according to the Shui-ching-chu*, 58; also *Mélanges Demiéville*, I, 179". I thank Prof. Dr. L. Petech for his having been so kind as to place at my disposal this piece of evidence.

[59] Curtius, *Hist. Alex.*, IX, 8, 11. The first sentence is not quoted after Rolfe's translation published in the Loeb Classical Library. I preferred to it Bardon, *op. cit.*, II, p. 380, the Latin text of which runs : *Inde Praestos, et ipsam Indiae gentem, peruentum est*. This Latin text is based on the *consensus* of the manuscripts, whereas in my opinion Rolfe put too much faith in Hedicke's correction of the original text into : *Inde per silvas ad asperam Indiae gentem perventum est.*

[60] Plinius, *Nat. Hist.*, VI, 71. I substituted the Roman measures for the English measures ($6\,^1/_4$ miles wide, 75 feet deep) given in Rackham's translation.

"Owing however to a certain limitation in its supply of water the Indus is nowhere more than 50 *stadia* wide or 15 *passus* deep; and it forms an island of considerable size named Prasiane and another smaller one named Patale".

Prasiane is an eparchy name belonging to the type discovered by Tarn. The Seleucids retained the great Persian satrapies, with names usually ending in -ia *(ια)*, but in the lands east of the Euphrates they had a threefold division into satrapy, eparchy, hyparchy, corresponding to the threefold division in Egypt into nome, topos, village; but as their empire was vastly more extensive than Egypt, and as the hyparchy might contain a considerable number of villages, their organisation was of necessity much looser than that of the Ptolemies. The typical eparchy name ended in -ene *(ηνη)*, though -iane *(ιανη)*, -ia *(ια)*, and -itis *(ῖτις)* all occur [61].

Patale, or rather Patalene, viz. the district of Patala, is well-known. It was called after the town of Patala, where the Indus parted into two branches which encompassed the territory of the district [62]. On the other hand the name as well as the geographical position of Prasiane give rise to as many problems. From the context and on the analogy of Patalene it appears that Prasiane was encompassed by two Indus branches as well. Moreover, it seems that its territory extended from Patalene northward up the Indus river. As this portion of the Indus valley belonged to the realm of Porticanus it follows that Prasiane, or the district of Prasia, must have been identical with the country of the Praesti, the tribe ruled by Porticanus. All these facts considered I am inclined to regard "Prasi-" (in : Prasiane), "Praesti", "Porti" (in : Porticanus), and "Parda-" (in : Pardabathra) as as many variant readings of one and the same Greek name representing the Greek pronunciation of a native designation.

The original Sanskrit designation and its meaning can, exceptionally, be traced. The name of "Prasi-" in Prasiane reminds of the Prasii mentioned a.o. by Curtius Rufus in connection with Alexander's inquiries about the peoples beyond the Hyphasis, modern : Beas, river [63] :

[61] Tarn, *Hellen. Civ.*, p. 130-131. See also Tarn, *Bactria & India*, p. 2-3.

[62] Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, VI, 18, 2 : "At Pattala the stream of the Indus parts into two large rivers, both of these retaining the name of 'Indus' till they reach the sea".; Strabo, *Geogr.*, XV, 1, 33 : "Patalene, a country formed by the Indus, which branches into two mouths"., and *ibidem* : "In Patalene there is a noteworthy city, Patala, after which the island is named"..

[63] Curtius, *Hist. Alex.*, IX, 2, 2-3.

"Accordingly, having inquired of Phegeus what he needed to know, he learned that beyond the river there was a journey of 12 days through desert wastes and that then they came to the Ganges, the greatest river of all India, and that on its farther bank dwelt the races called Gangaridae and Prasii; that their king was Aggrammes and that he was blocking the roads with 20,000 cavalry and 200,000 infantry".

The 12 days' journey through desert wastes refers to the Thar desert the centre of which lies in Western Rajputana. It is no real desert, but rather a steppe which in the extreme north is interspersed with cultivated oases [64]. The kingdom referred to is the empire of Magadha, which at the time extended from the upper course of the Ganges to the Ganges delta in the east. Its capital was Palibothra, Sanskrit : Pāṭaliputra, modern : Patna [65], and Aggrammes is identical with Anuruddha son of Muṇḍa [66]. The names of the Gangaridae and the Prasii are no tribal names, but geographical designations. The Gangaridae are called after the Ganges river, and Prasii is derived from Sanskrit *prācya*, "living in the east, eastern" [67].

If Prasii is no real tribal name, but only a geographical one, the name of Prasiane may be supposed to mean "the district situated in the east", viz. the district extending along the easternmost water course of the Indus. In this connection I am inclined to attach much importance to the next information supplied by Aristobulus [68] :

"Aristobulus, comparing the characteristics of this country that are similar to those of both Aegypt and Aethiopia, and again those that are opposite thereto, I mean the fact that the Nile is flooded from the southern rains, whereas the Indian rivers are flooded from the northern, inquires why the intermediate regions have no rainfall; for neither the Thebaïs as far as Syenê and the region of Meroê nor the region of India from Patalenê as far as the Hydaspes has any rain. But the country above these parts, in which both rain and snow fall, are cultivated, he says, in the same way as in the rest of the country that is outside India; for, he adds, it is watered by the rains and snows.

And it is reasonable to suppose from his statements that the land is also quite subject to earthquakes, since it is made porous by reason of its great humidity and is subject to such fissures that even the beds of rivers are changed [69].

[64] Krebs, *op. cit.*, p. 23 and p. 320-322.

[65] Eggermont, *Notes III.* p. 86-87; see also Plinius, *Nat. Hist.*, VI, 68 : "But almost the whole of the peoples of India and not only those in this district are surpassed in power and glory by the Prasi, with their very large and wealthy city of Palibothra, from which some people give the name of Palibothri to the race itself, and indeed to the whole tract of country from the Ganges".

[66] Eggermont, *Notes III*, p. 93.

[67] Eggermont, *Notes III*, p. 89; cf. p. 153, and *ibidem* n. 583.

[68] Strabo, *Geogr.*, XV, 1, 19.

[69] Compare Seneca, *Quaestiones* ,VI, 20, 3 (= *De Terrae Motu*) : "Moreover, if

At any rate, he says that when he was sent upon a certain mission he saw a country of more than a thousand cities, together with villages, that had been deserted because the Indus had abandoned its proper bed, and had turned aside into the other bed on the left that was much deeper, and flowed with precipitous descent like a cataract, so that the Indus no longer watered by its overflows the abandoned country on the right, since that country was now above the level, not only of the new stream, but also of its overflows".

Tarn was first to have brought into prominence the text I have quoted above. He supposed that the Indus had changed its old bed for the abandoned dry bed of the Nara, or Lost River of Sind [70]. However, Wilhelmy has rejected this hypothesis. "There is no evidence whatsoever", he says, "in support of the view that in historical times the Indus parted into two main branches at Rohri; on the other hand there are definite indications to the effect that a perennial river flowed through the upper portion of the Eastern Nara bed up to some gap in the Rohri hills, through which it must have flowed in south-western direction until it joined the main stream again [71]".

Wilhelmy's information however interesting it is does not give a definite solution to the problem of the shift of the Indus to the eastward in c. 325 B.C. Nobody knows which course the Indus took between Alor and Patala. The only established fact is that the river did *not* flow through the abandoned bed of the ancient Lost River of Sind. In the absence of any geomorphological map of this portion of the Indus valley I should like to leave the solution to the geologists. For my part I am inclined to state only that the name of "Prasia", or "Eastern" seems to be connected with the "eastern" course which the Indus took after having left its old western bed. Aristobulus had observed this major shift of the Indus course, and he had reported it to Alexander. In this connection the Greeks and Macedonians may be supposed to have distinguished the old, or "western" Indus bed from the new, or "eastern" Indus course, and to have called the inhabited area Prasiane, or "Eastern district", after the Sanskrit designation of the new eastern Indus branch [72].

the soil is irrigated, and if it absorbs the water completely, it will subside at various spots, and the subsoil will be eroded; then that portion will cave in where the weight of the converging streams is heaviest".; see also Plinius, *Nat. Hist.*, II, 193 : "Consequently earthquakes occur in a variety of ways, and cause remarkable consequences, in some places overthrowing walls, in others drawing them down into a gaping cleft, in others thrusting up masses of rock, in others sending out rivers and sometimes even fires or hot springs, in others diverting the course of rivers".

[70] Tarn, *Alexander*, I, p. 103-104, and II, p. 285, and *ibidem*, note 2.

[71] Wilhelmy, *Indus*, p. 272, 2nd column; see also p. 8, and *ibidem*, note 43.

[72] Lamotte, *op. cit.*, p. 118, compares the Praesti with the Proṣṭha mentioned in

Sambus and the Bolan pass

After the surrender of all the *Prācya* towns the only ruler who was in a position to impede Alexander's advance to the sea was the chieftain of Patalene, the Indus delta. At this juncture however a most dangerous revolt caused Alexander to cancel until further notice the invasion he was planning [73] :

"Next Alexander advanced against Sambus, who had been appointed by himself satrap of the Indian hillmen; he was reported to have made good his escape on learning that Alexander had forgiven Musicanus and allowed him to continue ruler of his province; for Sambus and Musicanus were at enmity. But when Alexander was now approaching the city which was the capital of Sambus' territory, its name being Sindimana, the gates were opened to him at his coming and the relatives of Sambus counted out his treasure and went to meet Alexander, bringing with them all the elephants; they represented that Sambus' flight had not been due to any ill-will towards Alexander, but he had been frightened at his clemency towards Musicanus. At this same time Alexander captured another city which had rebelled, and he put to death those of the Brachmans, the learned pundits of India, who had been responsible for the revolt. The wisdom of these men, such as it is, I shall discuss in my Indian History".

On the maps joined to our manuals, and on historical atlasses the town of Sindimana is always identified with the town of Sehwan near the Manchar Lake [74]. The identification though, is all but proven. In this connection Vincent Smith has noted down : "Sindimana may or may not have been Sihwān, with which it is commonly 'identified', for no better reason than that both names begin with S. "[75].

Though the identification of Sindimana itself seems to be a hopeless case, Arrianus gives sufficient indications regarding the area over which Sambus ruled. As he had been appointed satrap of the Indian hillmen his territory should be sought for in the foot-hills of the mountain-range

Mahābhārata, VI, 9, 60. The text is as follows : *Vyūkāḥ Kokabakāh Proṣṭhāḥ Samavegavaśās tathā*, see Hilgenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 26. I am able to identity only the *Kokabaka* people. Luise Hilgenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 26, note on verse 60, mentions the variant reading *Kokanakhāḥ*, which is obviously related to *Kākaṇāva*, or *Kākaṇāya*, or *Kākanādaboṭa*, the early names of Sanchi mentioned in the inscriptions, see Eggermont, *Muruṇḍas*, p. 263 and 269-272. It seems, therefore, that the location of the Proṣṭha tribe should likewise be sought for in the neighbourhood of Sanchi, viz. in Malwa.

[73] Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, VI, 16, 3-5.

[74] Delaporte, *Atlas*, planche XVIII; Glotz, *op. cit.*, p. 272; Robson, *op. cit.*, II, *in fine* &c.

[75] Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 99, note 4.

which fringes the Indus valley to the west. It is the very reason why former scholars used to select Sehwan as the possible site of Sindimana. However, Arrianus's text contains another valuable indication by which the range of possibilities can be reduced to a definite area. He has handed down that "Sambus and Musicanus were at enmity". As Alor, Musicanus's capital, was an important trans-shipment centre for goods conveyed from Kandahar to the Indus valley, it is, from a political point of view, very probable that Sambus controlled the ancient caravan route leading from Kandahar by the Khojak and Bolan passes, and by Sibi and Shikarpur to Alor [76]. It follows, therefore, that the territory of Sambus's hillmen comprised the Quetta-Pishin area, the Central Brahui range, the mountainous Marri and Bugti countries, and part of the Kacchi plain. On that condition the enmity between Sambus and Musicanus can be explained quite well. Sambus was in a position to interrupt the trade between Arachosia and the lower Indus valley. Apart from the usual tribal warfare excessive tributes levied by Sambus, or occasional predatory raids may have exasperated the lowlanders belonging to the realm of Musicanus.

Moreover, the satrap of Arachosia is known to have levied tribute from the tribes of the Malli and Sudracae established in the southernmost portion of the Punjab [77]. From this fact it appears either that the satrap himself held sway over the Indian borderland in the Bolan region, or that he had concluded a treaty with the chief of the Indian hillmen in that area. In short, in my opinion Sambus had been an agent on Persian service who after the defeat of the Persians was appointed satrap by Alexander because the latter was eager to get control of the line of communication between Kandahar and Alor, which could render valuable service during his campaign in the lower Indus valley.

In this connection it is worth-while examining somewhat closer the part which the satrap of Arachosia and the Indian hillmen had played in the previous war between Alexander and Darius III Codomannus. In 331 B.C. the Indians and Persians had fought side by side in the decisive battle at Gaugamela. Bessus, the satrap of Bactria who was fated to betray Darius III a few months later, was in command of the Bactrians, Sogdians, and "such of the Indians as border upon the Bactrians" [78]. These Indians must have come from the province of Parapamisadae,

[76] See p. 9.
[77] See p. 9, and *ibidem*, note 45.
[78] Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, III, 8, 3.
[79] See Supplement I, § 1.

or the Kabul river basin in Afghanistan [79]. On the other hand, Barsaentes, the satrap of Arachosia and Drangiane, led both the Arachotians and the "Indian hill-men" [80]. The only tribe which can be considered is the one which commanded the access from Iran to India by the Khojak and Bolan passes, viz. the tribe which I have identified with Sambus's hillmen. After the defeat at Gaugamela Barsaentes assisted Bessus in arresting Darius III [81], but subsequently he retired to his own satrapy [82] :

"He [i.e. Alexander] entered the land of the Drangae, a warlike tribe. Their satrap was Barzaentes, an accomplice of Bessus in the crime against the king; he, fearing the punishment which he had deserved, fled to India".

To which part of India Barsaentes had fled is unknown, but finally he was arrested by the Macedonians [83] :

"Alexander had already decided to cross the Hydaspes river, when Barzaentes, the instigator of the revolt of the Arachosii, was brought to him in fetters, as well as 30 elephants which had been captured at the same time with him, a timely aid against the Indi; for they had more hope and strength in those beasts than in their army. Samaxus [84] also, the king of a small district of India, who had allied himself with Barzaentes, was brought to Alexander in fetters. Accordingly, when the deserter and the prince had been put under guard and the elephants given to Taxiles, Alexander came to the river Hydaspes, on whose farther bank Porus had taken position, intending to prevent the enemy from crossing".

We do not know what happened to Barsaentes and Samaxus afterwards. Barsaentes was, most probably, put to death, The text points out that he was regarded as a criminal and a traitor. Samaxus, however, had a better chance of escaping with his life. Unlike Barsaentes, who is called a "transfuga", or "deserter", Samaxus is styled a "regulus", or "prince, chieftain". He was, most probably, the very chieftain of the Indian hillmen who had fought under Barsaentes at Gaugamela. He had remained loyal to the satrap till the end. The Indian elephants Barsaentes had at his disposal actually belonged to Samaxus, Barsaentes's Indian vassal. In view of the number of 30 elephants Samaxus must have been

[80] Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, III, 8, 4.

[81] Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, III, 21, 1.

[82] Curtius, *Hist. Alex.*, VI, 6, 36.

[83] Curtius, *Hist. Alex.*, VIII, 13, 3-5.

[84] Rolfe, *op. cit.*, II, p. 339, calls him "Damaraxus" in accordance with Hedicke's Teubner edition, which he closely follows, cf. Rolfe, *op. cit.*, II, p. 338, note 1. I prefer the reading "Samaxus" because it is confirmed by the *consensus* of the manuscripts, cf. Bardon, *op. cit.*, II, p. 334. See also note 59.

an Indian prince of some consequence. We know from where he had got his funds. I have identified his tribe with the one which commanded the caravan route from Kandahar to Alor, and Samaxus must, therefore, have been a rich man, who could afford buying elephants in order to enhance his prestige [85].

As Sambus, viz. the one who had been appointed by Alexander satrap of the Indian hillmen, was equally chieftain of the tribe which commanded the Khojak and Bolan passes, it is obvious that the names of Sambus and Samaxus represent variant readings of one and the same Greek transliteration of the Indian name by which the tribe of the Indian hillmen was designated [86]. For the rest, the names of Sambus and Samaxus are very similar.

To these arguments I should like to add an *argumentum ex silentio*· Arrianus has failed to explain when and where Sambus had got his sudden advancement to satrap of the Indian hillmen. One need not wonder at this, for the Alexander historians used to select from their sources only a few details they took a keen interest in. At times their reports supplement each other exactly [87]. I suppose that the lacking events in the biography of Samaxus/Sambus may be reconstructed as follows. Shortly before the famous Elephants' Battle against Porus Samaxus/Sambus was not only pardoned by Alexander, but also reinstated in his previous power, the title of "satrap" being conferred on him with a view to various duties he had carried out or which he was expected to carry out later on. On the one hand Alexander needed experts who could handle Samaxus's elephants in the forthcoming battle against Porus, and on the other hand he must have been aware of the important part Samaxus/Sambus could play during the conquest of the lower Indus valley immediately after the Punjab had been subdued.

Apart from these arguments there is a minor detail in favour of my hypothesis. In this connection I should like to compare the versions handed down by Curtius Rufus and Diodorus with the one written down by Arrianus. The report of Curtius Rufus runs as follows [88] :

"Alexander entered the domain of King Sambus, and after receiving many towns in surrender took the strongest city of the nation by a subterraneous passage. To the barbarians, who were inexperienced in military operations, this seemed like a prodigy; for armed men came up out of the earth almost in

[85] See p. 18.
[86] As to the identification of this tribe with the Śibi, or Vedic : Śiva, tribe, see p. 144.
[87] See p. 4, and *ibidem*, note 27.
[88] Curtius, *Hist. Alex.*, IX, 8, 13-15.

the middle of the city, no indication having been given beforehand of the digging of the passage-way. Clitarchus states that 80,000 Indi were killed in that region, and many captives sold at auction".

In Rolfe's opinion the above-mentioned "strongest city" is identical with Sindimana [89]. I do not agree, for from Arrianus's description it appears that Sindimana surrendered without any fighting [90]. The town which was taken by means of a subterraneous passage must have been the other one where, according to Arrianus, Alexander "put to death those of the Brachmans, ... who had been responsible for the revolt". In the Greek mind stubborn resistence remained connected with Brahmin influence ever since the tribe of the Malli had performed the rite of *jauhar* in the so-called "city of the Brachmans" in the southern portion of the Punjab [91].

Diodorus's version of the story supplies some new details [92] :

"Next he ravaged the kingdom of Sambus. He enslaved the population of most of the cities and, after destroying the cities, killed more than 80,000 of the natives. He inflicted a similar disaster upon the tribe of the Brahmins, as they are called; the survivors came supplicating him with branches in their hands, and punishing the most guilty he forgave the rest. King Sambus fled with 30 elephants into the country beyond the Indus and escaped".

Apart from the note on the 80,000 natives killed, which he had borrowed from Clitarchus's History of Alexander, Diodorus appears to have stressed the fate of the Brahmins in the same way as Arrianus did. For the rest his summary is clumsy and inferior to the story handed down by Arrianus. He has turned the Brahmins into a tribe, whereas Arrianus has preserved the distinction between the town and the Brahmins as a class.

However, the detail about Sambus's flight with 30 elephants is important. It confirms my hypothesis regarding the identity of Sambus and Samaxus. When the Persian satrap Barsaentes and the Indian prince Samaxus were taken prisoner by the Macedonians, they had at their

[89] Rolfe, *op. cit.*, II, p. 436, note b.

[90] See p. 16.

[91] Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, VI, 7, 4-6, esp. VI, 7, 6 : "And by this time the citadel was in their hands, and of the Indians some set fire to their houses, and being captured in them, were put to death, but most of them perished fighting. Up to 5,000 in all fell, but owing to their brave defence only a few were captured alive". As to the rite of jauhar, see e.g. Haig, *Mughul Period*, p. 98.

[92] Diodorus, *Bibl. Hist.*, XVII, 102, 6-7.

[93] See p. 18.

disposal exactly the same number of elephants [93]. Obviously Alexander had returned the 30 elephants to Samaxus/Sambus when he had released him from captivity and had sent him back to the Quetta-Pishin area on the condition that he would govern the region as a satrap on Macedonian service.

For the rest the story about the Brahmins who survived the capture of their town became a popular litarary topic in Hellenistic times. Plutarchus has handed down their clever answers to difficult questions [94] :

"He captured ten of the Gymnosophists who had done most to get Sabbas to revolt, and had made the most trouble for the Macedonians. These philosophers were reputed to be clever and concise in answering questions, and Alexander therefore put difficult questions to them, declaring that he would put to death him who first made an incorrect answer, and then the rest, in an order determined in like manner" &c.

Plutarchus has confused the Gymnosophists, or "naked philosophers", viz. the Indian *Śramaṇas*, or "itinerant ascetics", with the Brahmins mentioned by the Alexander historians in connection with the capture of Sambus's strongest city. It is certain though, that Sabbas is identical with Sambus because Strabo calls the very king "Sabus" in a context which does not leave any doubt to his identity [95] :

"Near Patalenê, they say, one comes at once to the country of Musicanus, and to that of Sabus, where is Sindomana [96], and also to the country of Porticanus and others, who, one and all, were conquered by Alexander, these peoples dwelling along the river-lands of the Indus; but last of all to Patalenê, a country formed by the Indus, which branches into two mouths".

To conclude with I should like to state that all these names : Samaxus, Sambus, Sabbas, and Sabus are as many variant readings of one and the same tribal name. The name of the town of Sindomana represents, most probably, an eparchy name ending in -ana *(ανα)*, which is the Doric

[94] Plutarchus, *Vita Alex.*, 65. Plutarchus (A.D. 46-120), friend of consul Q. Sosius Senecio (A.D. 99 and 107), appointed procurator of Achaea by emperor Hadrianus, author of the *Moralia*, and the *Vitae Parallelae*.

[95] Strabo, *Geogr.*, XV, 1, 33. Strabo (63 B.C.-A.D. 21) from Amasia in Pontus, Asia Minor, made several journeys to Rome, followed Polybius in his profound respect for the Romans, accompanied the proconsul Aelius Gallus up the Nile as far as Syene in 25-24 B.C., lived for some five years at Alexandria in Egypt, and wrote the *Geographica* in c. 7 B.C., the revised edition of which he published in c. 18 A.D. See also p. 127.

[96] The manuscripts show the name "Sindonalia", or "Sindolia", which Meineke has corrected into "Sindomana", see Jones, *Strabo*, VII, p. 58, note 1.

pronunciation of the usual Attic ending in -ene *(ηνη)*, [97], so that its proper meaning is "the district of Sindoma-", and I have an inkling that even this name is a variant reading of the original Greek designation of the tribe settled in the area of the caravan route leading from Alor to Kandahar.

The revolt of Musicanus and Clitarchus's History of Alexander

While Alexander was fully occupied with the war against Sambus, the sudden revolt of Musicanus forced him to attack the ruler of Alor once again. So far Musicanus had kept quiet, but now he seized the opportunity to cut Alexander's line of communication with the Indus valley [98] :

"In the midst of all this the revolt of Musicanus was announced. Against him Alexander sent Peitho son of Agenor the satrap [99] with a sufficient force. He himself advanced against the cities subject to Musicanus, and *of some he sold the inhabitants into slavery, razing the cities to the ground* [100], in others he established garrisons and fortified citadels. Then when he had completed this he returned to his camp and fleet. Hither too Musicanus, now a captive, was brought by Peitho; and Alexander bade them hang him in his own land, together with such of the Brachmans who had been the instigators of Musicanus' revolt".

The phrase printed in italics agrees partly with a passage in Diodorus's account of Alexander's campaign against Sambus [101] :

"*He enslaved the population of most of the cities and, after destroying the cities,* killed more than 80,000 of the natives"'.

Not only the contents of both the phrases are the same, but also the same Greek main verbs are made use of, cf. *ἐξανδραποδίσας* — *ἐξανδραποδισάμενος* and *κατέσκαψεν* — *κατασκάψας*.

Comparison with Curtius's report on Alexander's campaign against Sambus bears out that Diodorus has used the same source as Curtius, viz. the History of Alexander by Clitarchus [102] :

[97] See p. 13, and *ibidem*, note 61.

[98] Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, VI, 17, 1-2.

[99] Peitho was appointed satrap of Sind together with Oxyartes, see p. 5.

[100] The Greek text is as follows : *Αὐτὸς δὲ τὰς πόλεις τὰς ὑπὸ Μουσικανῷ τεταγμένας ἐπελθὼν τὰς μὲν ἐξανδραποδίσας αὐτῶν κατέσκαψεν, εἰς ἃς δὲ φρουρὰς εἰσήγαγε καὶ ἄκρας ἐξετείχισε.*

[101] Diodorus, *Bibl. Hist.*, XVII, 102, 6. See also p. 20, and *ibidem*, note 92. The Greek text is as follows : *καὶ τὰς πλείστας πόλεις ἐξανδραποδισάμενος καὶ κατασκάψας κατέκοψε τῶν βαρβάρων ὑπὲρ τάς ὀκτὼ μυριάδας.*

[102] Curtius, *Hist. Alex.*, IX, 8, 15 : "LXXX milia Indorum in ea regione caesa Clitarchus est auctor multosque captivos sub corone venisse"; see also p. 20 *initio*.

"Clitarchus states that 80,000 Indi were killed in that region, and *many captives sold at auction*".

The Latin expression "multosque captivos sub corona venisse" used by Curtius is, obviously, meant to render the original Greek verb *ἐξανδραποδίσας* (Arrianus), or *ἐξανδραποδισάμενος* (Diodorus).

From this comparison it appears that Clitarchus had inserted the above-mentioned details, which virtually belonged to the account of Alexander's campaign against the rebellious Musicanus, in the wrong context, viz. the campaign against Sambus, so that Diodorus and Curtius Rufus, who used Clitarchus's History of Alexander as their source, took over this mistake wholesale from their predecessor. There is no doubt that Arrianus has handed down the correct version of the events. Unlike the revolt of Sambus the rebellion of Musicanus was by far more dangerous. He had cut the line of communication between Alexander's expeditionary forces in the Indo-Iranian borderland and the main body of his army in the Indus valley, and in this connection it is not to be wondered at that Alexander, in contrast to his relatively mild attitude towards the Brahmins in Sambus's country, acted with the utmost cruelty when crushing the revolt of Musicanus. Some classic scholars regard Clitarchus's note on the 80,000 killed enemies as rather exaggerated, but I am not altogether easy on that point. Part of the information may be true [103].

Another argument in favour of the reliability of Arrianus's report is the fact that Arrianus never made a secret of his adherence to Ptolemaeus and Aristobulus as his sources [104]. It is very improbable that he ever has made use of Clitarchus's History as a source.

However, in this connection the question remains to be solved why then Arrianus has used the same Greek wording as Diodorus and Curtius Rufus, who did closely follow Clitarchus. The answer is that when writing his book Clitarchus was very much in the same position as Arrianus. Clitarchus was likewise well acquainted with the Histories written by Ptolemaeus and Aristobulus. When quoting Clitarchus, Diodorus and Curtius Rufus did ultimately quote Ptolemaeus, or Aristobulus, through the intermediary of their main source. However, the wrong insertion of the quotation we have studied was entirely due to

[103] One manuscript of Curtius's Historia Alexandri shows a figure of 8,000 killed, and five manuscripts indicate a figure of 800. The figure of 80,000 represents Rader's correction in connection with the amount of 80,000 mentioned by Diodorus, *Bibl. Hist.*, XVII, 102, 6, see Bardon, *op. cit.*, II, p. 381, note.

[104] See p. 1.

Clitarchus's mixing up the respective revolts of Sambus and Musicanus in one abridged chapter. So the accounts of Diodorus and Curtius still bear traces of the negligent way Clitarchus has dealt with the subject.

§ 2. Conquest of the Indus delta

Impressed by Alexander's victories over Sambus and Musicanus, the ruler of Patalene did not tarry to present himself to surrender his territory [105] :

"There arrived here also the governor of the territory of Pattala, the territoy which I stated to be the delta made by the river Indus, greater than the Egyptian delta; he offered in surrender all his territory and committed himself and all that he had to Alexander. Alexander sent him back again to his own realm, bidding him make all ready for the reception of the army".

Then Alexander started organizing the final phase of the expedition.

Strategy of the retreat

General Craterus was ordered to return to Persia with a small part of the army, the elephants included. The line of march was to be the road leading through Arachosia and Drangiana to Carmania, viz. the ancient caravan trail leading from Alor through the Bolan pass to Kandahar and from there to Sistan, This road had been opened up by Alexander's victories over Musicanus and Sambus.

Craterus's commission was only part of the general strategic conception, which has been best explained by Strabo [106] :

"For he divided his forces into three parts, and himself set out with one division through Gedrosia. He kept away from the sea no more than 500 stadia at most, in order that he might at the same time equip the seabord for the reception of his fleet; and he often closely approached the sea, although its shores were hard to traverse and rugged.

The second division he sent forward through the interior under the command of Craterus, who at the same time was to subdue Ariana and also advance to the same region whither Alexander was directing his march.

The fleet he gave over to Nearchus and Onesicritus, the latter his master-pilot, giving them orders to take an appropriate position, and to follow, and sail alongside, his line of march".

[105] Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, VI, 17, 2-3.
[106] Strabo, *Geogr.*, XV, 2, 4.

After having settled the general strategy Alexander turned to arranging the invasion into the delta [107] :

"Over the rest of the army Hephaestion was placed in command — except such part of it as was sailing with Alexander himself to the sea; but Peitho, with mounted javelin-men and the Agrianes [108] he transported to the other side of the Indus, not that by which Hephaestion was to take his army; he gave orders to Peitho to settle such cities as were already fortified, and deal with any attempted rebellion among the Indians in these parts, and finally meet him at Pattala".

As Hephaestion had taken over the rear-guard from Craterus, he must be supposed to have followed the left, or eastern bank of the Indus [109]. Consequently Peitho must have followed the "other", or western bank of the river. As at the time the Indus flowed far to the east of its present course, the area assigned to Peitho must have been very extensive. It was bordered on the west by the Kirthar range. It is, probably, for that reason that he was given the command over light troops who could cover a wide area within a few days.

Patala and the Maurya king

On the third day of his voyage Alexander got bad news [110] :

"Now when Alexander had been already three days on the voyage, he received news that the chief of Pattala had taken with him the greater number of the tribesmen and had absconded, leaving his country desolate, and on this Alexander sailed down with even greater speed than before. On his arrival at Pattala he found both city and territory empty, both of inhabitants and of labourers. He therefore despatched the lightest of his troops in pursuit of the fugitives, and when some of these had been captured, sent them away to the others, bidding them to come back without fear; for their city was theirs to dwell in as before, and their country was theirs to till. And the greater part of them did come back".

In Greek the chief of Patala is called "hyparchus", viz. the governor of a hyparchy. In contrast to Egypt the Seleucid hyparchy might contain a considerable number of villages [111]. Therefore the chief of Patala must be regarded as a man of substance, and as the leader of a great many villages in the delta. However, from the information supplied by Diodorus it appears that the delta had two rulers [112] :

107 Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, VI, 17, 4.
108 See p. 9, and *ibidem* note 47.
109 See p. 5.
110 Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, VI, 17, 5-6.
111 See p. 13.
112 Diodorus, *Bibl. Hist.*, XVII, 104, 2.

"It [Patala] had a government organized very much like that of Sparta. Two kings descended from two houses inherited their office from their fathers. They had charge of all arrangements concerning war, while the council of elders was the principal administrative body".

I suppose that the twofold division has a bearing on the geographical situation of the delta. As at Patala the Indus parted into two branches, one may suppose that the one governor ruled the villages situated along the eastern branch and the other the villages along the western one. Diodorus's information may also solve the question why the chief of Patala had changed his mind though he had surrendered himself first. From the history of Sparta one learns that two kings seldom held the same view. Therefore it seems that Alexander had met the governor of the *eastern* Indus branch, who had hastened to surrender himself, while at the same time the other governor, the one who ruled over the *western* Indus branch, was stirring the people to rebellion. On his return the chief of the *eastern* portion of the delta must have noticed that he had lost his influence so that there remained only one solution, viz. the complete evacuation of the town.

If I stress that the violation of the treaty should be imputed to the governor of the *western* portion of the delta, it is because of a precious piece of evidence handed down by Curtius Rufus [113] :

"From there they came to the next nation, that of the Patalii. Their king was Moeris [114], who had abandoned his city, and taken refuge in the mountains. Alexander took the town and pillaged the fields. From there great booty was driven off, in the form of flocks and herds, and a great store of grain was found. Then, taking guides acquainted with the river, he sailed down to an island which arose in about the middle of the channel".

The mountains to which Moeris fled can be only the foothills of the Kirthar range which border the Indus delta to the west. It implies that Moeris was the governor of the western Indus branch.

The name of Moeris reminds one of the Maurya clan to which Sandrocottus, Sanskrit : Candragupta, the founder of the ancient Indian empire, belonged. After the departure of Eudamus and Peitho from resp. the Punjab and Sind he conquered the Indus river basin in 317 B.C. [115]. In my opinion it is not too far-fetched to identify the

[113] Curtius, *Hist. Alex.*, IX, 8, 28.

[114] After Lassen's "correction" Rolfe, *op. cit.*, II, p. 440-441, gives the reading "Soeris". However, the greater part of the manuscripts show the name of "Moeris", and one manuscript has "Meris", see Bardon, *op. cit.*, II, p. 383, note.

[115] Eggermont, *Chronology*, p. 129-131, and p. 180. See also p. 176.

rebellious king Moeris with Candragupta Maurya, or with some relative of his. Plutarchus has handed down that he had met Alexander [116]:

"Androcottus, when he was a stripling, saw Alexander himself, and we are told that he often said in later times that Alexander narrowly missed making himself master of the country, since its king was hated and despised on account of his baseness and low birth".

Patala and Alexander

Alexander selected Patala as a base for further actions in the delta area [117]:

"Alexander then bade Hephaestion to fortify the citadel in Pattala, and sent others to the desert parts of the surrounding country to dig wells and to make the country inhabitable. Some of the neighbouring tribesmen, however, set upon this party; some indeed they destroyed, by the suddenness of their attack, but they lost also many of their own number, and fled away into the desert, so that those who had been sent to complete the work did so, another force having joined them, which Alexander, on hearing of the attack of the natives, had sent to help with the work".

The desert into which the above-mentioned tribesmen fled must have been the Thar desert which fringes the Indus valley to the east. From this piece of evidence it appears that the location of ancient Patala should be sought for in the easternmost portion of the Indus river basin [118]. For this reason Wilhelmy's reconstruction of the lower Indus course shows that in between Alor and Bahmanabad the Indus flowed more or less parallel to the Thar desert in c. 325 B.C. [119]. According to Vincent Smith Patala itself was situated at or near the ruins of ancient Bahmanabad 47 miles to the north-east of Hyderabad and 12 1/2 miles south-east of Shahdadpur. Bahmanabad was a flourishing town in the VIIth century A.D. It was occupied by Muḥammad ibn Qāsim in 712 A.D., and some fifty years later the new Islamic capital Manṣūra was built from, and partly on, the ruins of the primitive city [120]. However, in the course of my studies I have found new evidence which seems to point out that Patala should be located far to the south of Bahmanabad at some distance to the north-east of Nasarpur [121]. Near Patala the apex of the delta was situated [122]:

[116] Plutarchus, *Vita Alex.*, 62, 4.
[117] Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, VI, 18, 1.
[118] Wilhelmy, *Städte*, p. 258-263, esp. p. 260
[119] See Wilhelmy, *Sarasvati*, p. 88, figure 2, and Wilhelmy, *Indus*, p. 265.
[120] Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 100-101, note 1; see also p. 7.
[121] See p. 189-190 (Supplement II). Cf. map at p. 30.
[122] Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, VI, 18, 2-3.

"At Pattala the stream of the Indus parts into two large rivers, both of these retaining the name 'Indus' till they reach the sea. Here Alexander began to build a harbour and dockyards, and when these works had got well advanced, he proposed to sail down to the outlet of the right-hand stream where it joined the sea. He sent therefore Leonnatus, giving him a thousand of the cavalry and about 8,000 of the heavy and light armed troops, to the island of Pattala, to march alongside the fleet".

As Alexander sailed down to the outlet of the right-hand Indus branch, there is no doubt that he first explored the *western* Indus branch. Later on he sailed down along the "other" branch, which therefore must be identified with the *eastern* branch [123].

Reconnaissance of the Indus delta

At some distance from the sea Alexander anchored by a river island called Cilluta [124] :

"The scouts reported that there was good anchorage by the island, and that it was large, with fresh water, so the rest of the fleet put in at the island; but Alexander himself with the best sailers from among his ships went to the far side of the island, to get a view of the outlet of the river into the sea, and see if it offered a safe passage out.

So advancing about 200 stades from the island they sighted a second island, right out in the sea [125]. On this they returned to the river island, and anchoring at a headland upon this island Alexander sacrificed to those gods to which, he used to say, Ammon had ordered him to sacrifice.

Then the next day he sailed down to the island in the sea; he put in there too, and sacrificed there other sacrifices to other gods and with different ceremonial; these sacrifices also, he said, he offered in accordance with the oracle given from Ammon.

Then passing the mouths of the river Indus he set sail to the high seas, to see, as he himself said, if any country stood out, near by, in the ocean; but in my own judgement chiefly that the might have voyaged in the Great Ocean beyond India. Then he sacrificed bulls to Poseidon, and cast them into the sea, and poured, after the sacrifice, a libation; casting also into the sea the cup, a gold one, and golden bowls, as thank-offerings, praying also that Poseidon would safely convey his naval force, which he purposed to despatch under Nearchus towards the Persian Gulf and the mouths of the Euphrates and Tigris".

From the account it appears that Alexander sacrificed thrice : first on the river island called Cilluta, then on the island in the sea, and finally

[123] See p. 29.

[124] Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, VI, 19, 3-5. Plutarchus, *Vita Alex.*, 66, 1, calls the island "Scillustis, or Psiltucis".

[125] See p. XXIII, note 2.

somewhere on the high seas. In respect to the value of the gold cup and the golden bowls he offered to Poseidon, the third sacrifice seems to have been the most important one.

After that Alexander returned to Patala by the western Indus branch, and started exploring the "other", or *eastern* Indus branch [126] :

"Then Alexander sailed down to the ocean again by the other mouth of the Indus, to learn by which branch the outlet of the Indus to the ocean was safer; these mouths of the river Indus are 1800 stades apart from one another [127]. And in the descent of the river he arrived at a great lake not far from the river outlet; this the river as it spreads — and possibly also from the other neighbouring streams which run into it — enlarges so that it most resembles a gulf of the sea; in fact ocean fishes were already to be seen in it, bigger than those in our own sea. Anchoring, therefore, at a point in the lake where the pilots advised him, he left behind the greater part of his troops there with Leonnatus, and all the light galleys.

Then he himself, with the ships of 30 oars, and those with $1^1/_2$ banks of oarsmen, passed beyond the outlet of the Indus, and proceeding by this passage also reached the sea; discovering that the passage by this branch of the Indus was an easier one. He then anchored by the shore, and taking with him some of the cavalry went 3 days' march along the coast, observing the nature of the country for the coasting voyage, and ordering wells to be dug, so that as they sailed along they might be able to get water.

Then he himself returned to his ships and sailed back to Pattala; and sent party of his army along the foreshore to carry on this same work, bidding them also return to Pattala.

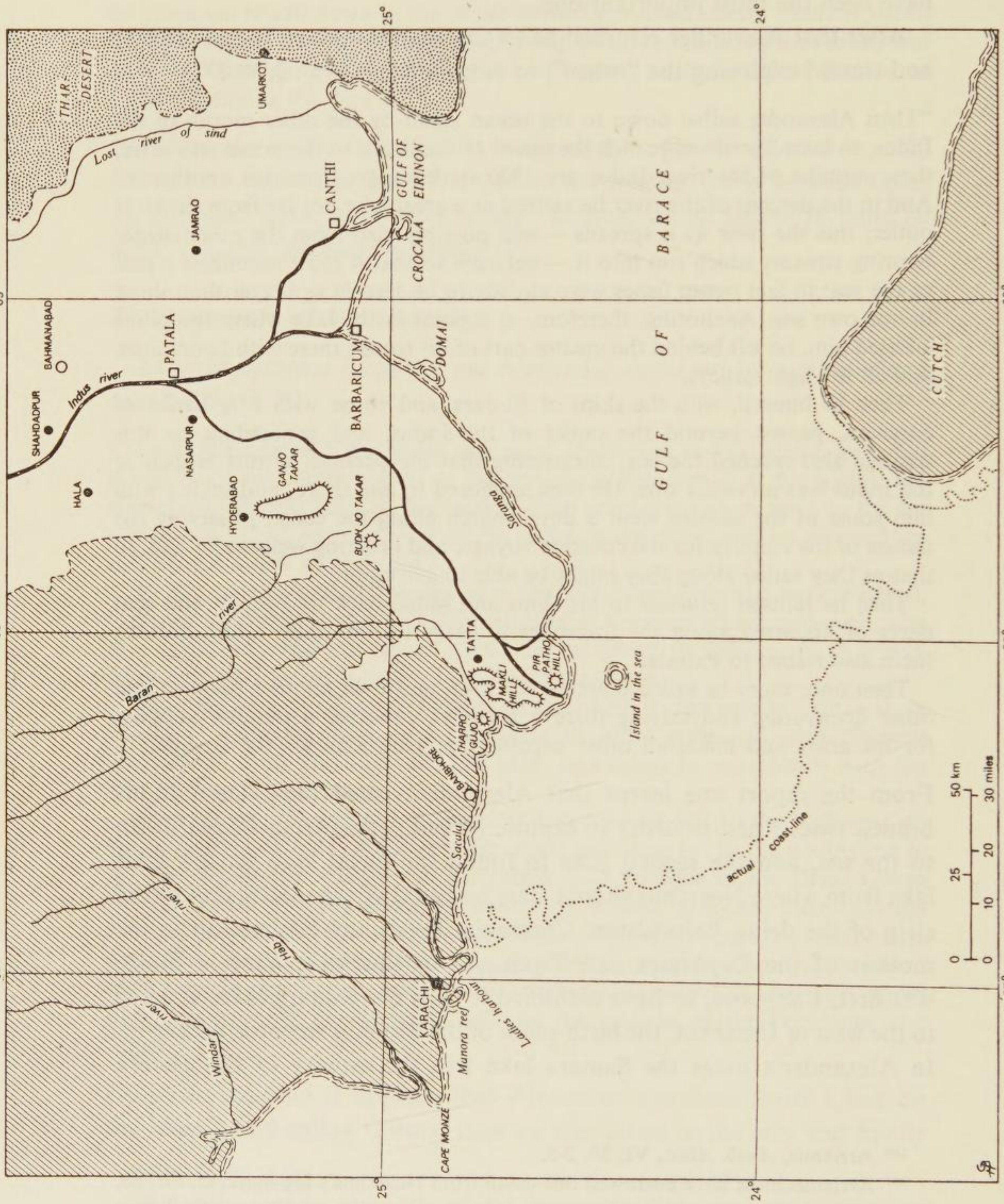
Then once more he sailed down to the lake, and built another harbour and other dockyards; and leaving there a garrison, collected 4 months' supplies for his army and made all other necessary preparations for the voyage".

From the report one learns that Alexander visited the eastern Indus branch twice : first in order to explore its full course from Patala down to the sea, and the second time to found the naval base on the great lake from where Nearchus should start his naval voyage along the coastal strip of the delta, Baluchistan, Carmania, Persis and Susiana up to the mouths of the Euphrates and Tigris. As to this lake, Vincent Smith was first, I suppose, to have identified it with the Samara lake, situated to the west of Umarkot, the birth-place of the Mughul emperor Akbar [128]. In Alexander's times the Samara lake was the estuary of the eastern

[126] Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, VI, 20, 2-5.

[127] Arrianus must have borrowed this detail from Nearchus's log-book, cf. Strabo, *Geogr.*, XV, 1, 33 : "Now Aristobulus says that these mouths are 1000 stadia distant from one another, but Nearchus adds 800".

[128] Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 102, note 1.


25°
24°
69°
68°
67°
THAR DESERT
UMARKOT
Lost river of sind
JAMRAO
CANTHI
GULF OF EIRINON
CROCALA
BARACE
GULF OF CUTCH
BAHMANABAD
SHAHDADPUR
Indus river
PATALA
BARBARICUM
DOMAI
Soondra
NASARPUR
HALA
HYDERABAD
GANJO TAKAR
BUDH JO TAKAR
River
Baran
River
Hab
River
Windar
TATTA
MAKLI HILLS
PIR PATHO HILL
Island in the sea
BANBHORE
THARRO
GUJO
Sarulu
actual coast-line
KARACHI
Ladies harbour
Munora reef
CAPE MONZE
50 km
30 miles
25
20
10
0
0

Indus branch which in its turn has been identified by Wilhelmy with the Puran, which at present is a dry river bed serving as a receptacle for the overflows of the Indus during the rainy season. One should be careful to distinguish this ancient estuary of the eastern Indus branch from the estuary of the Nara, or Lost River of Sind, which for the rest had ceased functioning as a perennial river in c. 325 B.C. [129].

Putting off for awhile the discussion on the indentification of Nearchus's naval base [130] I should like for the present to compare Curtius's version of the reconnaissance with the one handed down by Arrianus. After having described at length Alexander's voyage down to the outlet of the *western* Indus branch, Curtius tells [131] :

"The king ... in order to anticipate the tide, with a few ships went down the river and, carried out to its mouth, proceeded 400 stadia into the sea, at last accomplishing the object of his prayers. Then, after sacrificing to the gods presiding over the sea and the region, he returned to the fleet.

Next the fleet went up the river, and on the second day was moored near a salt lake, the unknown nature of which deceived those who rashly entered its waters. For a scabby itch attacked their bodies and the contagion of the ailment was communicated also to others. A remedy was oil. Then Leonnatus was sent ahead, to dig wells along the route by which he seemed likely to lead the army in a march by land — for the region was dry — while Alexander himself with his troops remained where he was, waiting for the springtime. Meanwhile he both founded several cities and ordered Nearchus and Onesicritus, who were skilled in navigation, to sail the strongest ships down to the Ocean" &c.

We are fortunate to have at our disposal the accurate report of Arrianus, as from Curtius's abridged version one would get the false impression that Alexander had explored only one Indus branch, viz. the *western* one and that the salt lake as well as Nearchus's naval base were situated there and *not* near the outlet of the *eastern* branch. As a matter of fact, however, things are far more complicated. Later on I shall show that the Indus branch Curtius had in mind was neither the western nor the eastern one. The author from whom he had borrowed the story had anachronistically mixed up both the branches with the *middle* branch of the Indus where in the first century B.C. Greek ships used to

[129] See p. 8, and *ibidem*, note 43.

[130] See p. 33-37.

[131] Curtius, *Hist. Alex.*, IX, 9, 27-IX, 10, 3. Unlike Arrianus Curtius does not give any exact geographical indications, but from his description of the flood-tide and the calamity which fell upon Alexander's fleet, it appears that he relates the same events which Arrianus mentioned in connection with Alexander's journey along the *western* Indus branch.

call at the sea-port of Barbaricum situated on a small island opposite to the outlet of the river [132].

Moreover, the mission of Leonnatus and his well-diggers has to do with Alexander's preparations for the retreat from India and his campaign against the Arabeans and Oritans [133]. For the rest, Leonnatus had, most probably, done the same job in the delta before. While Alexander was sailing down the western Indus branch, Leonnatus with a picked force of 8,000 infantry and 1000 cavalry advanced on the bank of the river. Later on Alexander left him behind at the "Samara" estuary of the eastern Indus branch at the spot where he intended to found Nearchus's naval base. When Alexander was back in Patala, he sent party of his army along the foreshore of the delta in order to dig wells, and I suppose that these well-diggers actually belonged to the division under command of Leonnatus at the naval base. Obviously Leonnatus carried out his duties to the entire satisfaction of Alexander so that he came to be regarded as an expert in matters concerning the coastal region, which, afterwards, earned for him the high command of the troops occupying the Las Bela district in Baluchistan [134].

Apparently Diodorus's version is closely related to the one handed down by Curtius [135] :

"Now he resumed his voyage down the river and sailed out into the Ocean with his Friends. There he discovered two islands and on them performed rich sacrifices. He threw many large cups of gold into the sea following the libations which he poured from them. He erected altars to Tethys and Oceanus and judged that his projected campaign was at an end. Setting sail from there, he proceeded back up the river to Patala, a fine city".

The two islands mentioned by Diodorus are the river island called Cilluta, and the Island in the Sea. Like Arrianus and in contradistinction to Curtius, who has mixed up all the sacrifices, Diodorus has not failed to mention three sacrifices, two on the islands, and the third on the high seas. For the rest Diodorus's version corresponds to Curtius's one in so far as he does not distinguish the western from the eastern Indus branch either. I shall return to the subject later on [136]. For the present I prefer stating that in my opinion both the authors, Diodorus as well as Curtius, have borrowed their abridged reports from an Alexander

[132] See p. 134-135.
[133] See p. 91 *initio*.
[134] See p. 99-101.
[135] Diodorus, *Bibl. Hist.*, XVII, 104, 1.
[136] See p. 135-137.

historian — he may or may not have been Clitarchus —, who had written on that matter an account which differed a great deal from the one handed down by Arrianus.

§ 3. The voyage of Nearchus along the Indus delta

As the trade winds, or south-west monsoon, had rendered the voyage impossible, Nearchus's fleet had remained at anchor at the naval base which Alexander had caused to be built near the estuary of the eastern Indus branch. Finally — probably in the month of september 325 B.C. [137] — the winds permitted Nearchus to move out [138] :

"Then moving out from their roadstead, they anchored on the first day in the Indus river near a great canal, and remained there two days; the district was called Stura; it was about 100 stades from the roadstead. Then on the third day they started forth and sailed to another canal, 30 stades' distance, and this canal was already salt; for the sea came up into it, especially at full tides, and then at the ebb the water remained there, mingled with the river water. This place was called Caumara. Thence they sailed 20 stades and anchored at Coreëstis, still on the river. Thence they started again and sailed not so very far, for they saw a reef at this outlet of the river Indus, and the waves were breaking violently on the shore, and the shore itself was very rough. But where there was a softer part of the reef, they dug a channel, 5 stades long, and brought the ships down it, when the flood tide came up from the sea".

Identification of Nearchus's naval base

To begin with I should like to stress once more that the naval base whence Nearchus moved out was situated on the *eastern* Indus branch, and *not* on the *western* one. There still exists much confusion on this point ever since Tomaschek asserted that at first Alexander had ordered Nearchus to sail down the *eastern* Indus branch, but that he had cancelled this order later on because the naval base was endangered by the attacks of barbarians, viz. the tribesmen who had fled from Patala into the Thar desert, so that Nearchus started his voyage by sailing down the *western* Indus branch [139]. Tomaschek's hypothesis was intimately connected with his identification of Alexander's Harbour with Karachi, I fear, and moreover, there does not exist any written document in favour

[137] Chantraine, *op. cit.*, p. 52, note 1.
[138] Arrianus, *Indica*, 21, 2-6.
[139] Tomaschek, *op. cit.*, p. 7-8; see also Wilhelmy, *Indusdelta*, p. 183.

of this hypothesis. For the rest I should like to discuss this subject in its proper context later on [140].

From the figures mentioned in the text it appears that the naval base was situated 11 1/2 miles from the northernmost tip of the estuary, and nearly 18 miles behind the coast-line. However, as the length of the stade used by Nearchus is entirely uncertain, I prefer concluding that anyway the naval base was situated not very far behind the coast-line [141].

Plinius has handed down the name of the naval base [142] :

"The record of the voyage of Onesicritus and Nearchus does not include the names of the official stopping places nor the distances travelled; and to begin with, no sufficiently clear account is given of the position of Xilenepolis [143], founded by Alexander, which was their starting point, nor is the river on which it stood indicated. Nevertheless they give the following places worth mentioning : the town of Abies [144], founded by Nearchus during his voyage; the river Nabris, navigable by ships [145]; an island opposite to it, 70 stades distant [146]" &c.

Rackham has translated Xilenepolis as "the city of Timbertown" because "xylinus" (*ξύλινος*) means "wooden, made of wood", but it is open to doubt whether the name represents a Greek designation. In my opinion "Xilene" (in Xilene-polis) is a variant reading of "Canthi" (in : Canthi Roadstead) mentioned by Ptolemaeus in connection with the enumeration of the "seven" mouths of the Indus [147] :

[140] See p. 55.

[141] Cf. Neubert, *op. cit.*, p. 136-143. Like Tomaschek Neubert feels that Nearchus must have sailed down the *western* Indus branch, which ruins his calculations.

[142] Plinius, *Nat. Hist.*, VI, 96-97.

[143] Variant readings : Xylinepolis, see Rackham, *op. cit.*, p. 410; Exilenaepolis, Exilenepolis, see Detlefsen, *op. cit.*, p. 149, note.

[144] Variant reading : Ab his, see Detlefsen, *op. cit.*, p. 149, note; Rackham corrected the name into "Arbis", which is not attested by the manuscripts, see Rackham, *op. cit.*, p. 412. The town is identical with Barbaricum *alias* Alexander's Harbour, see p. 37-40.

[145] Variant reading : Nabrus, see Rackham, *op. cit.*, p. 412, note 2 (flumen Nabrum); Rackham corrected the name into "Arbius" (flumen Arbium), which is not attested by the manuscripts, see Detlefsen, *op. cit.*, p. 149, note. The river is identical with the Arabis, or the present Hab river, see p. 51.

[146] The island is identical with the Manora reef opposite to Karachi, see p. 51. and 54.

[147] Ptolemaeus, *Geogr.*, VII, 1, 2. Claudius Ptolemaeus (c. A.D. 100-178), from Ptolemaïs, worked at Alexandria in Egypt, author of the *Syntaxis Mathematica*, which was called by the Arabs *Almajisti* after Greek : *megistos*, or "greatest" so that during the Middle Ages it went under the name of *Almagest*. Some observations cover the years A.D. 127-41 Other mathematical and astronomical works : *Analemna*,

"In the district of Syrastra :
in the so-called Gulf of Canthi : Canthi Roadstead; the westernmost Indus mouth, called Sagapa; the next one, called Sinthus"; &c.

When locating the Gulf of Canthi and the region of the seven Indus outlets in Syrastrene, viz. the district of Syrastra, Ptolemaeus was entirely wrong. In Ptolemaeus's times *Surāṣṭra* was the name of the extensive peninsula of Kathiawar, and in its turn the peninsula had borrowed this name from the village of Syrastra, Greek : *Συράστρα κώμη*, Sanskrit : Surāṣṭra, which was, most probably, the capital of the present Soraṭha province [148]. Nevertheless this mistake seems to have been part of Ptolemaeus's system, for he has repeated it once more in another context [149] :

"Syrastrene, viz. the region along the mouths of the Indus and the Gulf of Canthi".

On the other hand the above-mentioned indication is useful in so far as one can infer from it that one should distinguish the coastal strip along the Gulf of Canthi from the region of the Indus outlets. It seems, therefore, that the Gulf of Canthi was situated in between the easternmost outlet of the Indus and the sandy belt of land formed by the Thar desert situated to the east of the Indus river basin [150].

I suppose that the variant reading "Xilenepolis" has resulted from a series of copyists' mistakes. In majuscule script the name of "Canthi naustathmos" is written as follows : *ΚΑΝΘΙΝΑΥΣΤΑΘΜΟΣ*. Probably some copyist had divided the syllables in the wrong way so that there arose the reading "Canthinau stathmos". In Greek poetry "stathmos" has the same meaning as "naustathmos", or "roadstead", but in Greek prose the word represents a great many meanings, like "station, quarters, estate, residence, farm &c. Therefore, the next copyist replaced the word "stathmos" by "polis", or "town". I suppose that the "new" reading *ΚΑΝΘΙΝΑΥΠΟΛΙΣ* gave rise to quite a number of other corrupt readings among which e.g. "KALITHINAU POLIS", *ΚΑΛΙΘΙΝΑΥΠΟΛΙΣ* as in majuscule script the letter *N*

Planisphaerium, *Hypotheses Planetarum*. In the field of physics : the *Optica*, and on the theory of music : *Harmonica*. His *Geographia*, written about A.D. 150, contains c. 8000 place-names, each with figures of latitude and longitude, as well as a chapter on cartography. He wrote the *Geographia* in order to improve on a similar work written by Marinus of Tyrus (c.120), which, however, has got lost.

[148] Law, *Hist. Geogr.*, p. 297-299; see also Master, *op. cit.*, p. 11-12.

[149] Ptolemaeus, *Geogr.*, VII, 1, 55; full text quoted at p. 49.

[150] For the identification, see p. 36 *in fine* and 37 *initio*.

is liable to be corrupted into the letters *ΛΙ*. Finally someone may have tried to explain this incomprehensible name by learned etymology so that he came to invent the reading "XULINE POLIS", *ΞΥΛΙΝΗΠΟΛΙΣ*, or "Wooden Town", which happened to represent the reading in the Greek manuscript Plinius had at his disposal.

Apart from what I have suggested above, my main argument in favour of the indentification of Ptolemaeus's Canthi Roadstead with Plinius's Xilenepolis is that the toponym of Canthi belongs to a string of geographical names which Ptolemaeus has borrowed from Nearchus's enumeration of the successive anchorages from his starting point near Samara lake up to the Hingol river in Baluchistan. As the problem is rather complicated I should like to refer to the paragraph in which I have collected all the relevant evidence [151].

A third argument in favour of the identification of Canthi Roadstead with the harbour which Alexander caused to be dug near the salt lake behind the outlet of the eastern Indus branch into the sea [152] is that the word "Canthi", most probably, represents the Greek pronunciation of Sanskrit *kaccha*, viz. "a bank or any ground bordering on water, watery soil, marshy ground, marsh, morass" [153]. It is the same word from which the name of the present island of Cutch is derived. This island is encircled to the north by the Great Rann of Cutch, to the east by the Little Rann of Cutch, and to the south by the Gulf of Cutch, which is part of the Arabian Sea. In fact the Great and the Little Rann are no real gulf of the ocean. It is a saline plain with small dunes, but in the rainy period it is covered by a sheet of stagnant and briny water, as the sea is driven through its channels by the south-west monsoon, and the rain descending from the hills of the island of Cutch flows into it [154]. Although the Gulf of Canthi and the present Great and Little Rann of Cutch have their names in common one should not identify the one with the other. In Alexander's times the Great and Little Rann did not exist. At the time there was only a wide bay of the ocean [155]. On the other hand the Gulf of Canthi, or *kaccha*, bore a name which was appropriate to the geomorphological situation in c. 325 B.C. It represented a saline plain intersected by creeks into which water was driven at flood tide, and which changed into a salt lake during the rainy period when the

[151] See p. 84-89.
[152] See p. 30-31.
[153] Eggermont, *Alexander*, p. 81.
[154] Schoff, *op. cit.*, p. 173.
[155] Wilhelmy, *Indusdelta*, p. 182-183, and *ibidem*, map 3A.

south-west monsoon was blowing constantly. It is for that reason that Alexander's sailors have called the estuary of the eastern Indus branch as well as its harbour "Canthi" after the native designation *kaccha*.

Identification of Alexander's Harbour with Barbaricum

After having left the outlet of the eastern Indus branch Nearchus's fleet skirted along the coastal strip of the Indus delta [156] :

"Then sailing round, to a distance of 150 stades, they anchored at a sandy island called Crocala, and stayed there through the next day; and there lived here an Indian race called Arabeans, of whom I made mention in my larger history; and that they have their name from the river Arabis, which runs through their country and finds its outlet in the sea, forming the boundary between this country and that of the Oreitans [157].

From Crocala, keeping on the right hand the hill they call Eiron [158], they sailed on, with a low-lying island on their left; and the island running parallel with the shore makes a narrow bay.

Then when they had sailed through this, they anchored in a harbour with good anchorage; and as Nearchus considered the harbour a large and fine one, he called it Alexander's Haven. At the heads of the harbour there lies an island, about 2 stades away, called Bibacta; the neighbouring region, however, is called Sangada. This island, forming a barrier to the sea, of itself makes a harbour. There constant strong winds were blowing off the ocean. Nearchus therefore, fearing lest some of the natives might collect to plunder the camp, surrounded the place with a stone wall. He stayed there for 33 days; and through that time, he says, the soldiers hunted for mussels, oysters, and razor-fish, as they are called; they were all of unusual size, much larger than those of our seas. They also drank briny water".

Under the disguise of Cocala the sandy island of Crocala figures at the end of Ptolemaeus's list of Indo-Scythian towns, and immediately before the island towns of Patala and Barbara [159]. It can be shown that Ptolemaeus mentions the "Indo-Scythian" towns of Cocala, Patala and Barbara one after the other, because he had got the names from a fragment in which they were mentioned as a unit showing the common feature of their location on islands near the mouth of the Indus. The Roman admiral Plinius has handed down the fragment I am referring to [160] :

[156] Arrianus, *Indica*, 21, 7-13.

[157] See p. 47-50.

[158] Robson, *op. cit.*, p. 369 : "Irus"; I prefer the original Greek form "Eiron", which is the neuter form of "Eiros", the latinized form of which is "Irus".

[159] See p. 10-11, and note 53.

[160] Plinius, *Nat. hist.*, VI, 80.

"But before Ceylon come some other islands : Patale, which we have indicated as situated at the very mouth of the Indus, an island of triangular shape, 220 miles in breadth; and outside the mouth of the Indus Chryse and Argyre, both of which I believe to be rich in minerals — for I find it hard to believe the statement of some writers that they only have gold and silver mines. 20 Miles beyond these is Crocala, and 12 miles further Bibaga, which is full of oysters and other shell-fish, and then Coralliba 8 miles beyond the above-mentioned islands and many of no note".

From Plinius's note on the breadth of the island of Patala it appears that he must have borrowed these details from Nearchus's log-book, viz. a manuscript based on the latter's report. The 220 Roman miles are equivalent to 1760 stades, which approximates the 1800 stade's distance between the eastern and western Indus branches according to Nearchus's estimate [161].

The Gold and Silver islands (Chryse and Argyre) are obviously inserted into the original fragment. They belong to the common *répertoire* of Gold and Silver lands situated on the fringe of the world [162].

For the rest the 20 miles' distance between the Gold and Silver islands and Crocala tallies with the 150 stades' distance between the mouth of the Indus and Crocala indicated by Arrianus. Twenty Roman miles are the equivalent of 160 Greek stades. When substituting Roman miles for Greek stades Plinius, or his source, rounded off upwards the $18\,^3/_4$ Roman miles which are the equivalent of 150 Greek stades.

As Arrianus has failed to inform us of the actual distance between Crocala and Alexander's Harbour, Plinius's figure of 12 Roman miles between Crocala and the island of Bibaga is important. Bibaga is the same island as Bibacta, which according to Arrianus protected Alexander's Harbour against the constant strong winds blowing off the ocean. The 12 Roman miles are equivalent to 96 Greek stades, and in this connection we can be certain that Plinius has rounded off downwards the original figure of 100 Greek stades. As the distance between the outlet of the Indus and Crocala is 150 stades, Alexander's Harbour lies 150 + 100 = 250 stades from the outlet of the eastern Indus branch, viz. some 20 to 30 miles to the west of the present Samara lake.

If comparing Plinius's series Patale - Crocala - Bibaga - Coralliba with Ptolemaeus's triad Cocala - Patala - Barbara one must inevitably draw the conclusion that Plinius's Bibaga is the equivalent of Ptolemaeus's Barbara. Among the variant readings of Barbara, viz. Barbarei (*βαρβαρεῖ*),

[161] See p. 29, and *ibidem*, note 127.

[162] Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 313-315.

Barbari *(βάρβαρι)*, Barbare *(βαρβαρή)*, and Babari *(βαβάρι)*, the last-mentioned one bears some similarity to Plinius's Bibaga [163].

In the course of time Nearchus's choice of Alexander's Harbour proved to have been a good one. Its star rose high in the history of commerce. It lost, though, its original name which was replaced by the name of the island which lay at the heads of the harbour. By popular etymology the name of Bibacta or Bibaga changed into Barbaricum, "Foreigners' Town" and under that name it was recommended by the anonymous author of the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, or "the Skipper" as he is usually called [164] :

"... the river Sinthus, the greatest of all the rivers that flow into the Erythraean Sea, bringing down an enormous volume of water; so that a long way out at sea, before reaching this country, the water of the ocean is fresh from it. Now as a sign of approach to this country to those coming from the sea, there are serpents coming forth from the depths to meet you; and a sign of the places just mentioned and in Persia, are those called *graae* [165]. This river has 7 mouths, very shallow and marshy, so that they are not navigable, except the one in the middle; at which by the shore, is the market-town, Barbaricum. Before it there lies a small island, and inland behind it is the metropolis of Scythia, Minnagara; it is subject to Parthian princes who are constantly driving each other out. The ships lie at anchor at Barbaricum, but all their cargoes are carried up to the metropolis by the river, to the King".

The evidence supplied by Arrianus and the "Skipper" enables us to approximate the location of Alexander's Harbour *alias* Barbaricum somewhat closer. Arrianus says that the neighbouring region was called Sangada. On the other hand the Skipper indicates that the town lay by the shore on the bank of the middle branch of the Indus which was the

[163] Renou, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

[164] *Periplus*, 38. Thomson, *op. cit.*, *passim*, devised the designation, and as it is a convenient name I shall call him "Skipper" throughout. He was though, no skipper at all, but a learned scholar who compiled his *Periplus* from various log-books and itineraries dating from 325 B.C. down to A.D. 150; I have shown that he must have made use of Nearchus's *Periplus* (325-324 B.C.), see p. 44 *in fine*; moreover he was undoubtedly acquainted with the Seaman's Pilot from which Plinius has borrowed recent data, see Plinius, *Nat. Hist.*, VI : "But all these names of tribes and ports or towns are to be found in none of the previous writers, which seems to show that the local conditions of the places are changing"; and finally he had at his disposal an itinerary in which Saraganus (= Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, c. A.D. 125) and Sandanes (= the Scythian Satrap Caṣṭana, c. A.D. 130-150) are mentioned, see *Periplus*, 52.

[165] Graa, or Sanskrit : *grāha* (from *grah-*, or "to seize"), viz. "a rapacious animal living in fresh or sea water, any large fish or marine animal (crocodile, shark, serpent, Gangetic alligator, water elephant, hippopotamus), see Monier-Williams, *Dictionary*, p. 372.

only navigable one among the seven branches. It struck me that one of the seven Indus mouths listed by Ptolemaeus bears a name which is very similar to Sangada, the region around Alexander's Harbour/-Barbaricum. It is "the westernmost Indus mouth called Sagapa" [166]. Obviously Sangada and Sagapa represent the same region and river mouth. It appears that Ptolemaeus's contention that Sagapa is the westernmost river mouth is definitely wrong [167].

When in the first half of the second century A.D. the Skipper compiled his *Periplus* four centuries had passed by since Alexander had invaded the Indus region. Meanwhile political conditions had changed considerably : Parthian princes had occupied the delta, and inland, in the Punjab and in Gandhāra, the Indo-Scythians had come into power. To the Indian inhabitants of the delta it was, perhaps, more important that the hydrographical conditions had changed as well. The eastern and western Indus branches, which had been navigable at Alexander's times, had got silted up, and now the middle branch was the main water-highway. It explains why Alexander's Harbour, the ancient port founded by Nearchus in 325 B.C., had got the opportunity to develop into the flourishing market-town of Barbaricum renowned in the second century A.D. The middle branch of the Indus, which was called Sagapa, or Sangada, in 325 B.C., went now under the general name of "Sinthus". One need not wonder why the original name was replaced by "Sinthus". The Greek merchants knew very well that "Sinthus", Sanskrit *sindhu*, viz. "river, stream, esp. the Indus river", was the native name of the Indus [168]. As the Indus branch which passed by Barbaricum was the only navigable one, it had become the *Sindhu*, or Indus river *par excellence* in the second century A.D., and therefore, it was designated accordingly.

Barace island and Barbaricum

Ptolemaeus has not failed to mention the island from which Barbaricum derived its name [169] :

"Islands alongside the part of India I have described : in the Gulf of Canthi : the island of Barace; off the coast down to the Gulf of Colchus : Milizigeris, Heptanesia, Tricadiba, Peperine, Trinesia, Leuce, Nanigeris; in the Gulf of Argari : the island of Cory".

[166] Ptolemaeus, *Geogr.*, VII, 1, 2: see also p. 35.

[167] Ptolemaeus's location of rivers is notorious, see Eggermont, *Muruṇḍas*, p. 266-67.

[168] Plinius, *Nat. Hist.*, VI, 71 : "The Indus, the native name for which is Sindus, rises on the east side of a ridge of Mount Caucasus called Paropanisus".

[169] Ptolemaeus, *Geogr.*, VII, 1, 94-96.

From its position at the top of the list, and from the similarity of its name it is obvious that Barace is the same island as the one which in Ptolemaeus's list of "Indo-Scythian towns" goes under the name of the island town of Barbara [170]. Ptolemaeus placed Barace in the Gulf of Canthi because he had picked up the name from Nearchus's enumeration of anchorages which showed the name of Canthi Roadstead, Nearchus's naval base, at the outset. He was mistaken, for virtually the island lay some 20 to 30 miles to the west of the estuary of the eastern Indus branch which we have identified with the Gulf of Canthi.

For the rest the above-mentioned fragment is important because the name of Barace represents an independent variant reading which should be compared with Arrianus's reading Bibacta, and with Plinius's reading Bibaga. I have weighty reasons to assuming that "Barace" is the original Greek transcription of the native name of the island [171]. In my opinion the early manuscripts supplied partly the reading *BAPAKH* (Barace), and partly the reading *BABAKH* (Babace), as the letters *P* and *B* are liable to be confused the one with the other in majuscule script. From *BAPAKH* sprang readings like *BAPBAPIKON* (Barbaricum), and *BAPBAPA* (Barbara), and from *BABAKH* readings of the type *BIBAKTA* (Bibacta), and *BIBAΓA* (Bibaga). To the second class belong likewise the very corrupt readings "Abies, founded by Nearchus during his voyage" [172]. and "Biblus, in which there is the large cockle, and where there are mussels and oysters and such like organisms, clinging to the rocks and ten times as big as those which we find in Greece" [173].

The Gulf of Barace and the Gulf of Eirinon

After having listed the commodities imported into Barbaricum and exported therefrom, the Skipper gives an exact description of the coast to the east of Barbaricum [174] :

[170] Ptolemaeus, Geogr., VII, 1, 59; see also p. 10-11.

[171] The native name was *Heruka*, which represents the shortened form of *Herukaccha* or "marshy bank of Heru", see p. 159-160.

[172] Plinius, *Nat. Hist.*, VI, 96-97; see also p. 34, and *ibidem*, note 144.

[173] Philostratus, *Vita Ap.*, III, 53; Flavius Philostratus, born in the island of Lemnus in c. A.D. 172, went to Athens and Rome, belonged to the literary circle of Julia Domna, wife of the Emperor Septimius Severus (A.D. 193-211). He wrote "The Life of Apollonius of Tyana", the biography of a pagan saint, who died during the reign of the Emperor Nerva (A.D. 96-98), after the memoirs of Damis of Niniveh, Apollonius's companion and disciple.

[174] *Periplus*, 40.

"Beyond the river Sinthus there is another gulf, not navigable, running in toward the north; it is called Eirinon; its parts are separately the small gulf and the great; in both parts the water is shallow, with shifting sandbanks occurring continually and a great way from shore; so that very often when the shore is not even in sight, ships run aground, and if they attempt to hold their course they are wrecked.

A promontory stands out from this gulf, curving around from Eirinon toward the East, then South, then West, and enclosing the gulf called Barace, which contains seven islands. Those who come to the entrance of this bay escape it by putting about a little and standing further out to sea; but those who are drawn inside into the gulf of Barace are lost; for the waves are high and very violent, and the sea is tumultuous and foul, and has eddies and rushing whirlpools. The bottom is in some places abrupt, and in others rocky and sharp, so that the anchors lying there are parted, some being quickly cut off, and others chafing on the bottom.

As a sign of these places to those approaching from the sea there are serpents, very large and black; for at the other places on this coast and around Barygaza [175], they are smaller, and in color bright green, running into gold".

Sylvain Lévi was first to have identified the Gulf of Eirinon with the Great and Little Rann of Cutch which respectively encircle the island of Cutch to the north, and to the east and south-east. The word itself corresponds to Sanskrit *iriṇam*, viz. "a desert, an inhospitable region; a bare plain, barren soil; salt soil; a water-course" [176]. Schoff identified the Gulf of Barace with the Gulf of Cutch, which is part of the Arabian Sea. It is situated between the island of Cutch and the peninsula of Kathiawar, and toward the east it joins the Little Rann of Cutch. With some diffidence though, Schoff put the question whether the Gulf of Barace had derived its name from the town of Dwarka, Sanskrit : *Dvārakā*, the capital of Krishna, which is situated in the extreme north-western angle of Kathiawar [177]. As these identifications seem to be very probable scholars have adopted them ever since [178].

However, at present we have at our disposal recent evidence which sheds new light on the ancient geography of this part of India. In the first place Wilhelmy has conclusively shown that in 325 B.C. the Great Rann of Cutch did not exist at all. At the time it was rather a wide bay

[175] i.e. Sanskrit : Bharukaccha, or Bhṛgukaccha (modern : Broach) near the outlet of the Narbada river, see Eggermont, *Muruṇḍas*, p. 259 : sketch map.

[176] Lévi, *Kaniṣka*, p. 72; see also Monier-Williams, *Dictionary*, p. 168.

[177] Schoff, *op. cit.*, p. 174 : "The Gulf of Baraca is the modern Gulf of Cutch. Whether the name survives in the modern Dwarka (22°22'N., 69° 5' E.) is uncertain".

[178] For instance : Lévi, *Kaniṣka*, p. 72; Law, *Hist. Geogr.*, p. 282; Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 107; Eggermont, *Alexander*, p. 81-82. For excavations and further references, see Z.D. Ansari and M.S. Mate, *Excavations at Dwarka*, Poona, 1966.

of the ocean [179]. Secondly I have proven that "Barace" is the original Greek transcription of the native name of the island which lay outside the harbour of the market-town of Barbaricum, the name of which was derived from "Barace" by popular etymology [180].

From the second fact it follows that the Gulf was called "Barace" after the famous Indo-Greek market-town, and *not* after the Hindu town of *Dvārakā* in Kathiawar. So the Gulf of Barace is either identical with the wide bay which extended from the island of Cutch northward up to the Indus delta in 325 B.C., or identical with that particular portion of the bay which was situated near the coast of the delta in the neighbourhood of the market-town of Barbaricum. *Anyway the possibility of its identification with the Gulf of Cutch is ruled out altogether.*

From the first-mentioned fact it follows that Sylvain Lévi was wrong when identifying the Gulf of Eirinon with the Great and Little Rann of Cutch. On the other hand the *Periplus* indicates that this Gulf lay close by the Gulf of Barace so that, in view of its name, it is probable that the Gulf of Eirinon represented some portion of the mangrove-swamps extending along the delta coast from some spot to the east of Barbaricum up to the eastern Indus branch, or even beyond.

In this connection I should like to study once more the passage in Arrianus's *Indica* which describes Nearchus's voyage from the sandy island of Crocala to Alexander's Harbour [181] :

"From Crocala, keeping on the right hand the hill they call Eiron, they sailed on, with a low-lying island on their left; and the island running parallel with the shore makes a narrow bay. Then when they had sailed through this, they anchored in a harbour with good anchorage; and as Nearchus considered the harbour a large and fine one, he called it Alexander's Haven".

The name of "Eiron" *(Εἶρον)* is a queer name for a hill, or rather a mountain *(ὄρος)* as the correct translation should point out. Arrianus seems to have called the "promontory" after the swamps, viz. Sanskrit *iriṇam*, Greek *eirinon (εἰρινόν)*, lining the coastal strip below it, and equally extending alongside the navigable channel, which in its turn was situated in between the low-lying island and these coastal mangrove swamps. While sailing on through the channel Nearchus had, obviously, to steer clear from the shallow waters and the shifting sandbanks of the *iriṇam* on starboard. For the rest, if I say "channel", the word is, perhaps,

[179] Wilhelmy, *Indusdelta*, p. 182-183.
[180] See p. 39-41.
[181] See p. 37.

appropriate to the actual situation, but virtually it is not a literal translation. Arrianus calls it a "bay", or "gulf" *(κόλπος)*. After having completed their voyage through this "gulf" *(διεκπλώσαντες δὲ ταύτην)* the sailors anchored in Alexander's Haven, i.e. Barbaricum.

Arrianus's description reminds strongly of the details supplied by the Skipper. The latter mentions *the Gulf of Eirinon, an anonymous promontory standing out from this gulf, and the Gulf of Barace, "which contains seven islands"*. The last-mentioned detail is important because Ptolemaeus has entered it under the disguise of "Heptanesia", or "Seven-islands' group" in his list of islands lying off the coast of India. There it is the second island after the island of Barace which figures at the top of the list [182]. Obviously, Ptolemaeus had picked up the names of these islands from the same log-book from which the Skipper had got the details about the voyage leading past the Gulf of Eirinon, the "promontory", the Gulf of Barace, and the "seven islands". This log-book must have been the one written by Nearchus, as it is borne out by the successive toponyms mentioned by Arrianus, viz. *Crocala, the promontory called Eiron, and Alexander's Haven.*

From the Skipper's description it appears that the promontory must virtually have been a chain of hills shaped like a crescent, the convex side turned to the east, and the concave side to the west. This is why it first turns to the east, afterwards to the south, and finally towards the west, If, e.g., one could draw a straight line through the tips of the two "horns" of this crescent-shaped chain of hills, this line would exactly fall together with the relevant meridian.

The Skipper has described the ridge from the point of view of a sailor who sails from the west in eastern direction, which follows from the fact that the "northern horn" is supposed to ran eastward. It does not tally with the point of view of Nearchus who must have sailed from the the east westwards. In this connection it is interesting that the Skipper says that the Gulf of Eirinon runs in towards the north. It is just the point of view from which Nearchus would describe its situation. The mangrove-swamps of the *iriṇam* occupy the space between the southern and northern horns of the chain of hills, and therefore their general direction is northward, provided that one is skirting the coast from the east in western direction. In my opinion this is an indication that the Skipper was no skipper at all, but a learned compilor. He must have borrowed at least this detail from Nearchus's log-book.

[182] See p. 40.

The Skipper informs us that the promontory enclosed the Gulf of Barace. This gulf must have been identical with the narrow bay, or gulf *(κόλπος)*, between the low-lying island and the shore, through which Nearchus sailed on, with the island on the port-side and the hill on starboard.

The northern entrance of the narrow Gulf of Barace must have been situated quite close by the port of Barbaricum, for otherwise the Skipper would not have regarded it as worth-while describing how to escape it. The harbour of Barbaricum was a well-known centre of commerce, and a great many ships must have passed by the dangerous spot at the time. In the first and second centuries A.D. it was the easternmost Indus port visited by ships. From there they used to sail southward to Barygaza/ Broach in Gujarat.

To conclude with I state that the Gulf of Barace represented only a small portion of the wide bay of the Arabian Sea between the island of Cutch and the Indus delta. The Gulf of Eirinon was situated along the delta coast adjacent to the Gulf of Barace, and it derived its name from the dangerous mangrove-swamps. As to the chain of hills, which rose high above the coast and both the Gulfs, its fame was perpetuated throughout antiquity by the Altars of Alexander, which were erected, most probably, on the top of the promontory near the northern entrance to the Gulf of Barace [183].

The voyage from Alexander's Harbour to Sacala

After a prolonged stay at Alexander's Harbour Nearchus weighed anchor in order to continue his voyage [184].

"On the wind falling, they weighed anchor; and after sailing 60 stades they moored off a sandy shore; there was a desert island near the shore. They used this, therefore, as a breakwater and moored there; the island was called Domai. On the shore there was no water, but after advancing some 20 stades inland they found good water.

Next day they sailed up to nightfall to Saranga, some 300 stades, and moored off the beach, and water was found about 8 stades from the beach. Thence they sailed and moored at Sacala, a desert spot".

Plinius has handed down some new details about Nearchus's voyage from Alexander's Harbour to the island of Domai [185] :

[183] See p. 135-137.
[184] Arrianus, *Indica*, 22, 1-4.
[185] Plinius, *Nat. Hist.*, VI, 80; for the full text, see p. 38.

"Bibaga, which is full of oysters and other shell-fish, and then Coralliba 8 miles beyond the above-mentioned islands, and many of no note".

The islands of Coralliba and of Domai must be identical, because according to Arrianus the distance between Domai and Alexander's Harbour is 60 stades, which tallies very well with the 8 miles' distance between Coralliba and Bibaga *alias* Alexander's Harbour [186]. Sixty Greek stades are equivalent to $7\,^1/_2$ Roman miles, and it is obvious that Plinius has rounded off the figure up to 8 Roman miles.

I suppose that Domai *(ΔOMAI)* is a variant reading of -Liba *(ΛIBA)*, the ultimate part of Coral-liba *(KOPAΛΛIBA)*; in its turn Liba must be a variant reading of Diba *(ΔIBA)*, as in Greek majuscule script the *Λ* and the *Δ* are liable to be confused the one with the other. Diba as well as Doma (in : Domai, which represents the nominative plural form) are transcriptions of Prakrit *dīpa* (= Sanskrit *dvīpa*), or "island" [187].

The voyage from Sacala to the Arabis, or Hab, river

Arrianus has failed to communicate any further details about the voyage from Sacala to Ladies' Harbour. Without any transition he describes the entrance to this port [188] :

"Then making their way through two rocks, so close together that the oar-blades of the ships touched the rocks to port and starboard, they moored at Morontobara, after sailing some 300 stades. The harbour is spacious, circular, deep, and calm, but its entrance is narrow. They called it, in the natives' language, "The Ladies' Pool", since a lady was the first sovereign of this district. When they had got safe through the rocks, they met great waves, and the sea running strong; and moreover it seemed very hazardous to sail seaward of the cliffs. For the next day, however, they sailed with an island on their port beam, so as to break the sea, so close indeed to the beach that one would have conjectured that it was a channel cut between the island and the coast. The entire passage was of some 70 stades. On the beach were many thick trees, and the island was wholly covered with shady forests. About dawn, they sailed outside the island, by a narrow and turbulent passage; for the tide was still

[186] On the identification, see p. 37-40.

[187] See Ptolemaeus, *Geogr.*, VII, 2, 29 : "Iabadiu, which means barley-island". Iabadiu corresponds to Sanskrit *yava-dvīpa*, or "barley-island". It is the island of Java, see Krom, *Geschiedenis*, p. 58, and Wolters, *op. cit.*, p. 57-58. For the reading "Diba", see Ptolemaeus, *Geogr.*, VII, 2, 28 : "the three Saba-dibae, occupied by cannibals". All these variant readings, Diu *(ΔIOY)*, Diba *(ΔIBA)*, Domai *(ΔOMAI)*, represent Prakrit *dīpa*.

[188] Arrianus, *Indica*, 22, 4-10.

falling. And when they had sailed some 120 stades they anchored in the mouth of the river Arabis. There was a fine large harbour by its mouth; but there was no drinking water; for the mouths of the Arabis were mixed with sea-water. However, after penetrating 40 stades inland they found a water-hole, and after drawing water thence they returned back again. By the harbour was a high island, desert, and round it one could get oysters and all kinds of fish. Up to this the country of the Arabeans extends; they are the last Indians settled in this direction; from here on the territory of the Oreitans begins".

The geographical location of Ladies' Harbour depends on the identification of the Arabis river. Holdich was convinced that it was the Porali, viz. the river which drains the triangular plain of Las Bela in eastern Baluchistan [189]. Tomaschek was first to identify the Arabis with the Hab, which for a considerable distance forms the line of demarcation between the Karachi district and the Las Bela state [190]. For a long time the problem remained undecided until in 1943 Sir Aurel Stein could show conclusively that Tomaschek was right [191].

According to Arrianus there lay by the harbour a high, and desert island. In the portion of the Arabian Sea situated opposite to Baluchistan there are only two islands, viz. Astalu, or Haptalar, situated to the south-west of the inlet of Kalmat [192], and the bare rock of Churna which is situated off Cape Monze at 4 1/2 miles' distance from the coast. With a view to its peculiar form the Portuguese used to call the latter island "ylha do Camelo", and for the same reason there is no question but that Nearchus must have noticed this island likewise. Though Churna does not lie by the mouth of the Hab river, I am, therefore, inclined to identify it with the one mentioned by Arrianus [193].

The Arabeans and the Indian Ābhīra tribe

Since we are certain that the Arabis is identical with the Hab river it is equally possible to locate the territory of the tribe which was called after this river.

[189] Holdich, *Makran*, p. 394.

[190] Tomaschek, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

[191] Stein, *Tour has Bela*, p. 213-214, and p. 214, note 1; cf. p. 91 of this book.

[192] See p. 81-82 : this island is identical with the famous Island of the Sun, *alias* the Couch of the Nymphs, *alias* the island of Carnine.

[193] Tomaschek, *op. cit.*, p. 16-17, compares a rock called Chīr-Churna, or Chang, which looks like an island, but which is a peninsula to the north of the ancient mouth of the Hab. For the rest I am not impressed by indications like "near" and "not far from", which one comes across time and again in the ancient classical sources. Such-like notes may indicate even some 40 miles' distance, see Eggermont, *Alexander* p, 92-93.

According to Arrianus Nearchus came across it first when he anchored at the island of Crocala at 150 stades' distance from the outlet of the eastern Indus branch [194] :

"Then sailing round, to a distance of 150 stades, they anchored at a sandy island called Crocala, and stayed there through the next day; and there lives here an Indian race called Arabeans, of whom I made mention in my larger history; and that they have their name from the river Arabis, which runs through their country and finds its outlet in the sea, forming the boundary between this country and that of the Oreitans".

From this evidence it follows that the Arabeans occupied not only the coastal strip of the Indus delta between the eastern and western Indus branches, but also the territory beyond the delta up to the Hab river which actually does not belong to the Indus river basin itself.

Generally Arrianus calls the tribe "Arabies" *('Αράβιες)*, the only exception being "Arabitae" *('Αραβῖται)* in *Anab. Alex.*, VI, 21, 4. The latter designation reminds one of the "Arbita mountains" mentioned by Ptolemaeus in his list of confluents and effluents of the Indus river [195] :

"Confluent of the Induș, towards the Arbita mountains"

Ptolemaeus mentions these mountains once more in connection with Gedrosia, the barren and desert-like interior of Baluchistan [196] :

"The so-called Arbita mountains extend through the central portion of Gedrosia ... From these mountains descend some rivers which join the Indus".

One may get the impression that the Arbita mountains should be identified with the Central Makran range, which runs from east to west parallel to the Makran Coast range. However, the name points out that these mountains represent the range where the Arabis, or Hab, river takes its source, viz. either the Kirthar, or the Pab range, which run from north to south. Together with the Mora range they separate the plain of Las Bela from the plateau of Karachi. Ptolemaeus seems to have turned the Arabis river into an anonymous tributary of the Indus which took its source in the range of the same name. It was not his only mistake.

[194] Arrianus, *Indica*, 21, 7-8. See also p. 37.

[195] Ptolemaeus, *Geogr.*, VII, 1, 28; Greek *ἐκτροπή* means "confluent" as well as "effluent". It is the line which the map-maker draws on the map from some point of the main river either up to the source of the tributary in question, or down to the outlet of a branch into the sea.

[196] Ptolemaeus, *Geogr.*, VI, 21, 3.

Under the disguise of the variant reading "Chariphus" the very Arabis river was identified by the learned geographer with one of the seven Indus branches [197].

The variant readings handed down by Curtius Rufus (Arabitae, and Arabus river), and by Strabo (Arbies, and Arbis river), belong to the same class as those which Arrianus has adopted (Arabies, Arabitae, and Arabis river). On the other hand Diodorus's readings (Abritae, Habritae, Ambritae) belong to a different structural group [198]. The latter designation is related to the name of "Aberia", or "district of the Abereans", mentioned by Ptolemaeus in his description of Indo-Scythia [199]:

"Furthermore the whole region along the Indus bears the common name of Indo-Scythia, but the portions are called partly Patalene, viz. the region where the river parts into branches, partly Aberia, viz. the region beyond it, and partly Syrastrene, viz. the region along the mouths of the Indus and the Gulf of Canthi".

Once more Ptolemaeus's geographical locations are wrong. Syrastrene is identical with the peninsula of Kathiawar, and Aberia, or the district of the Abereans, lies exactly on the spot where Ptolemaeus has located Syrastrene. From the evidence handed down by Arrianus it is obvious that the tribe called "Arabeans" occupied the region between the eastern-most Indus branch and the Hab river, and from the combined evidence given by Diodorus and Ptolemaeus it follows that in fact the district called "Aberia" was the same region as the one occupied by Arrianus's "Arabeans". I suppose that Ptolemaeus's mistake was caused by his initial mistake about the location of Syrastrene. As he had identified the latter region with the coastal strip of the delta, he was forced to locate "Aberia" elsewhere.

By chance Ptolemaeus and Diodorus have preserved the best readings of the name. "Aberia", and "Abritae" remind of the Indian *Ābhīra* tribe mentioned in the Purāṇas in connection with North-West India [200]. An inscription discovered at Gunda in North Kathiawar, and dated in a Śaka year corresponding to A.D. 181 records the digging of a tank by the Ābhīra general Rudrabhūti, son of general Bāpaka. An inscription

[197] See also p. 86.

[198] Welles, *op. cit.*, p. 420, note.

[199] Ptolemaeus, *Geogr.*, VII, 1, 55; in Greek the designation is written *Ἀβηρία*.

[200] Vāhlīkā Vāṭadhānāś-ca Ābhīrāḥ Kālatoyakāḥ/Aparāntāś-ca Śūdrāś-ca Pahlavāś-Carmakhaṇḍikāḥ//Gāndhārā Yavanāś-caiva Sindhu-Sauvīra-Madrakāḥ//Śatadrujāḥ Kuṇindāś-ca Pāradā Hārahūṇakāḥ//(see Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 23-24).

from Nasik records donations made by king Īśvarasena, son of Māṭharī and of the Ābhīra Śivadatta. Moreover, a dynasty of Ābhīra kings is mentioned in the Purāṇas [201].

These facts make it probable that in Alexander's times the Hab river was called "Abires" after the Indian *Ābhīra* tribe which occupied the coast of the Indus delta and the neighbouring district of Karachi. Therefore, I shall henceforward replace the designation "Arabeans" by "Abereans".

The length of the island opposite to Ladies' Harbour and the distance between the easternmost Indus branch and the Hab river

When leaving Ladies' Harbour Nearchus had to skirt along an island opposite to Ladies' Harbour. According to Arrianus the entire passage was of about 70 stades [202]. Like in English the Greek word διέκπλους, or "passage", is rather vague. Do these 70 stades indicate the breadth of the passage, viz. the distance between the shore and the island, or the length of the bottle-neck through which Nearchus had to sail before he could put about to the high sea? The solution of this problem is important because it is connected with another problem, viz. the actual distance between Ladies' Harbour and the mouth of the Hab river. According to Arrianus this distance was 120 stades, but the question is whether this figure includes, or excludes the possible length of the island.

In order to solve these problems I have drawn up the next list of day's voyages from the *mouth* of the easternmost Indus branch up to the mouth of the Hab river. I have listed all the data supplied by Arrianus with the exception of the 70 stades representing either the length or the breadth of the passage near Ladies' Harbour :

1.	Eastern branch — Crocala	150 stades
2.	Crocala — Alexander's Harbour	--- stades
3.	Alexander's Harbour — Domai island	60 stades
4.	Domai island — Saranga	300 stades
5.	Saranga — Sacala	--- stades
6.	Sacala — Ladies' Harbour	300 stades
7.	"passage"	? stades
8.	Ladies' Harbour — Hab river	120 stades
	Total :	930 stades

[201] Munshi, *Imp. Unity*, p. 221-223.

[202] See p. 46-47.

As Arrianus puts the total length of the Aberean coast at 1000 stades [203], the 70 stades' difference with the above-mentioned total of 930 stades must represent the *length* of the island along which Nearchus had sailed after his departure from the anchorage at Ladies' Harbour. Therefore the distance between Ladies' Harbour and the Hab river is 120 + 70 = 190 stades.

In this connection we are in a position to correct Plinius's view on this matter [204]:

"The record of the voyage of Onesicritus and Nearchus does not include the names of the official stopping places nor the distances travelled; and to begin with no sufficiently clear account is given of the position of Xilenepolis [205], founded by Alexander, which was their starting point, nor is the river on which it stood indicated [206]. Nevertheless they give the following places worth mentioning : the town of Abies, founded by Nearchus during his voyage [207]; the river Nabris, navigable by ships [208]; an island opposite to it, 70 stades distant [209]"; &c.

The island mentioned by Plinius must have been the one along which Nearchus sailed after his departure from Ladies' Harbour. In Plinius's opinion the island lay 70 stades from the shore. He was wrong. The 70 stades represent the length of the island, and not the breadth of the passage between the island and the shore. From this example one can conclude how difficult it was to interprete the Greek manuscripts of Nearchus's log-book even in the times of the early Roman empire. Moreover, when placing the island opposite to the river Nabris Plinius was wrong as well. The river Nabris must be identical with the Hab river. In the record which Plinius consulted the island and the river were listed because they represented the starting point and the terminus of the day's voyage. Besides, the identity of the "Nabris" and Arrianus's "Arabis" is certain because "Nabris" belongs to the class of variant readings handed down by Diodorus and Ptolemaeus [210]. I suppose that the author of Plinius's source had mixed up the island opposite to

[203] Arrianus, *Indica*, 25, 3 : "The length of the coasting voyage along the territory of the Arabeis was about 1000 stades from the point of departure".

[204] Plinius, *Nat. Hist.*, VI, 97. See also p. 84.

[205] i.e. Canthi Roadstead, see p. 34-37.

[206] Canthi Roadstead stood on the bank of the easternmost branch of the Indus.

[207] Abies is identical with Barbaricum, see p. 34, note 144; p. 41, and *ibidem*, note 172.

[208] See p. 34, note 145.

[209] The island is identical with Manora reef opposite to Karachi, see p. 54.

[210] See p. 49.

Ladies' Harbour with the island situated at a short distance from the mouth of the Hab river [211].

After this preliminary investigation I should like to discuss the problems regarding the length of the coast-line between the easternmost Indus branch and the mouth of the Hab river. In his *Indica* Arrianus reports that the length of the coasting voyage along the territory of the "Arabeis" was about 1000 stades from the point of departure [212]. From the list of day's voyages printed at p. 50 it appears that this figure does *not* represent the real distance, but only the sum of the items 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, and 8, which Arrianus happened to have read in some ancient manuscript. In his *Anabasis Alexandri* Arrianus says that the mouths of the river Indus were 1800 stades apart from one another [213]. From the latter indication it follows first that Arrianus made indiscriminately use of various sources, secondly that the figure of 1800 stades seems to approximate the real distance rather than the figure of 1000 stades, and thirdly that in Arrianus's opinion the territory of the Abereans coincided with the coastal region of the proper Indus delta. This notion has, obviously, caused a great deal of confusion in ancient geography, for it implied that the Hab river was supposed to represent the westernmost branch of the Indus. In fact Ptolemaeus has listed the Hab under the name of "Chariphus" as the fourth mouth of the Indus in his enumeration of the seven mouths of the Indus [214]. As the Abereans occupied the Karachi plateau as well as the delta area, the coast-line of the delta itself must have been virtually much shorter than the coast-line of the Aberean country.

We are so fortunate as to know from which sources Arrianus had got his variant figures. Strabo has handed down [215] :

"... but last of all to Patalene, a country formed by the Indus, which branches into two mouths. Now Aristobulus says that these mouths are 1000 stades distant from one another, but Nearchus adds 800".

[211] See p. 47.

[212] See p. 51, note 203.

[213] Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, VI, 20, 2 : "Then Alexander sailed down to the ocean again by the other mouth of the Indus, to learn by which branch the outlet of the Indus to the ocean was safer; these mouths of the river Indus are 1800 stades apart from one another".

[214] See also p. 84 and 86.

[215] Strabo, *Geogr.*, XV, 1, 33; Strabo is not always consistent, see *Geogr.*, XV, 2, 1 : "and the Arbies have a seabord, about 1000 stadia in length, as Nearchùs says".

Therefore it appears that when writing his *Indica* Arrianus had used a manuscript of Aristobulus's *History of Alexander*, and that even Aristobulus, although he wrote his report in the first quarter of the 3d century B.C., had no complete edition of Nearchus's log-book at his disposal. On the other hand the figure of 1800 stades should be regarded as a reliable datum, which Arrianus seems to have picked up from some fragmentary review of Nearchus's own report.

In the list of day's voyages the items no. 2 and 5 are lacking. However, item no. 2 is known : I have concluded from a passage in Plinius's *Naturales Historiae* that the distance between Crocala and Alexander's Harbour was 100 stades [216]. As with the exception of item no. 5 all the other items are known, it is possible to reconstruct this portion of Nearchus's log-book :

1.	Eastern branch — Crocala	150 stades
2.	Crocala — Alexander's Harbour	100 stades
3.	Alexander's Harbour — Domai island	60 stades
4.	Domai island — Saranga	300 stades
5.	Saranga — Sacala	*700 stades
6.	Sacala — Ladies' Harbour	300 staces
7.	Ladies' Harbour — Hab river [217]	190 stades
	Total :	1800 stades

At first sight day's voyage no. 5 may seem too long, but comparison with a great many day's voyages along the coast of Baluchistan points out that this long day's voyage is no exception [218]. During this voyage Nearchus must have sailed past the westernmost outlet of the Indus which was well-known because of Alexander's first reconnaissance of the Indus. Perhaps he had sighted a glimpse of the "Island in the Sea" on the port-side. However this may be, Arrianus has failed to record any observations of this kind. He records only that they sailed and

[216] See p. 38.

[217] i.e. 120 + 70 = 190 stades, see p. 51.

[218] Arrianus, *Indica*, 27 : Musarna — Balomus : 750 stades; Cophas — Cyiza : 800 stades; *Indica*, 29 : Bageia - Talmena : 1000 stades; Canasis town — Canate : 750 stades; Canate — Troea : 800 stades. Plinius puts the length of the Aberean coast at 1600 stades, see Plinius, *Nat. Hist.*, VI, 95 : "Next they put the race of the Arbii, covering 200 miles". If this information is correct, the distance no. 5 should be 500 stades.

moored at Sacala, a desert spot. [219] Anyway this remark corroborates my location of the anchorage close by the comparatively arid plateau of Karachi to the west of Banbhore.

The identification of Ladies' Harbour with the harbour of Karachi

During his voyage from Ladies' Harbour to the Hab river Nearchus must have rounded Cape Monze, or Ras Muar, the headland in which the chain of hills terminates, which for some time runs parallel to the Hab within the Karachi *taluk* [220]. Though Arrianus has failed to mention this landmark for sailors, I take it for certain that Ladies' Harbour, the starting-point of the day's voyage, is identical with Karachi Harbour, and that the island on the port-side of Nearchus's fleet, is the early predecessor of the present Manora reef.

The Manora reef is 10 miles in length, and it supplies Karachi Harbour, which is situated behind it, with a natural barrier against the sea. Though it is a peninsula nowadays, it was an island in 325 B.C. [221], and its mangrove swamps may very well represent the "shady forest" with which the island was covered [222]. According to Arrianus the island was 70 stades, or c. 8 miles, in length, which approximates the present length of 10 miles reasonably.

Arrianus reckons the distance between the spot where Nearchus sailed outside the island and the Hab river as 120 stades, or c. 12 1/2 miles. According to my calculation based on Sir Aurel Stein's map the coast-line from the mouth of the Hab round Cape Monze up to the point where Manora reef joins the shore is about 15 to 17 miles. As nobody knows how long a Nearchus-stade was, it is difficult to compare these lengths, but anyway the day's voyage must, comparatively, have been a short one.

The two rocks between which Nearchus approached Ladies' Harbour may be identified with some of the Oyster Rocks which are situated

[219] See p. 45.

[220] *Gazetteer*, XV, p. 10-11 : Karāchi Tāluka.

[221] See Wilhelmy, *Indusdelta*, map 3A at p. 183. Lambrick was first, I suppose, to have identified Ladies' Harbour with Karachi Harbour, see Lambrick, *op. cit.*, p. 120 : see also Wilhelmy, *Städte*, p. 276 : "Die Hafenbucht von Karachi ist zwar höchstwahrscheinlich von der heimkehrenden Alexander-Flotte als Ankerplatz benutzt worden, aber es kam dort weder in griechischer noch in arabischer Zeit zu einer Siedlungsgründung". He refers to his paper *Karachi - Pakistans Tor zur Welt*, in : *Die Erde, Zeitschrift der Geschichte für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, 1968, p. 132-162, which however was not available to me.

[222] See p. 46.

to the east of the East Pier of the East Channel, viz. the one by which nowadays ships pass when entering the harbour.

As to Karachi itself my reader should realize that it is not an ancient town. Only in 1729 it was founded by immigrants from Kharak, a port near the mouth of the Hab, when the entrance to their harbour had got silted up. The town started its career after the Tālpur princes of Hyderabad had conquered it in 1795, and after the British had conquered the town in 1843 it developed into the present flourishing centre of trade [223]. No traces of ancient settlements have been discovered so far, and if such traces will be discovered in future, they must belong to the ancient Abereans, who may be supposed to have occupied a small fishing station near Morontobara, the native name of Ladies' Harbour In Hellenistic times ships did not touch at the port. Usually they sailed straight on to Barbaricum on the delta coast.

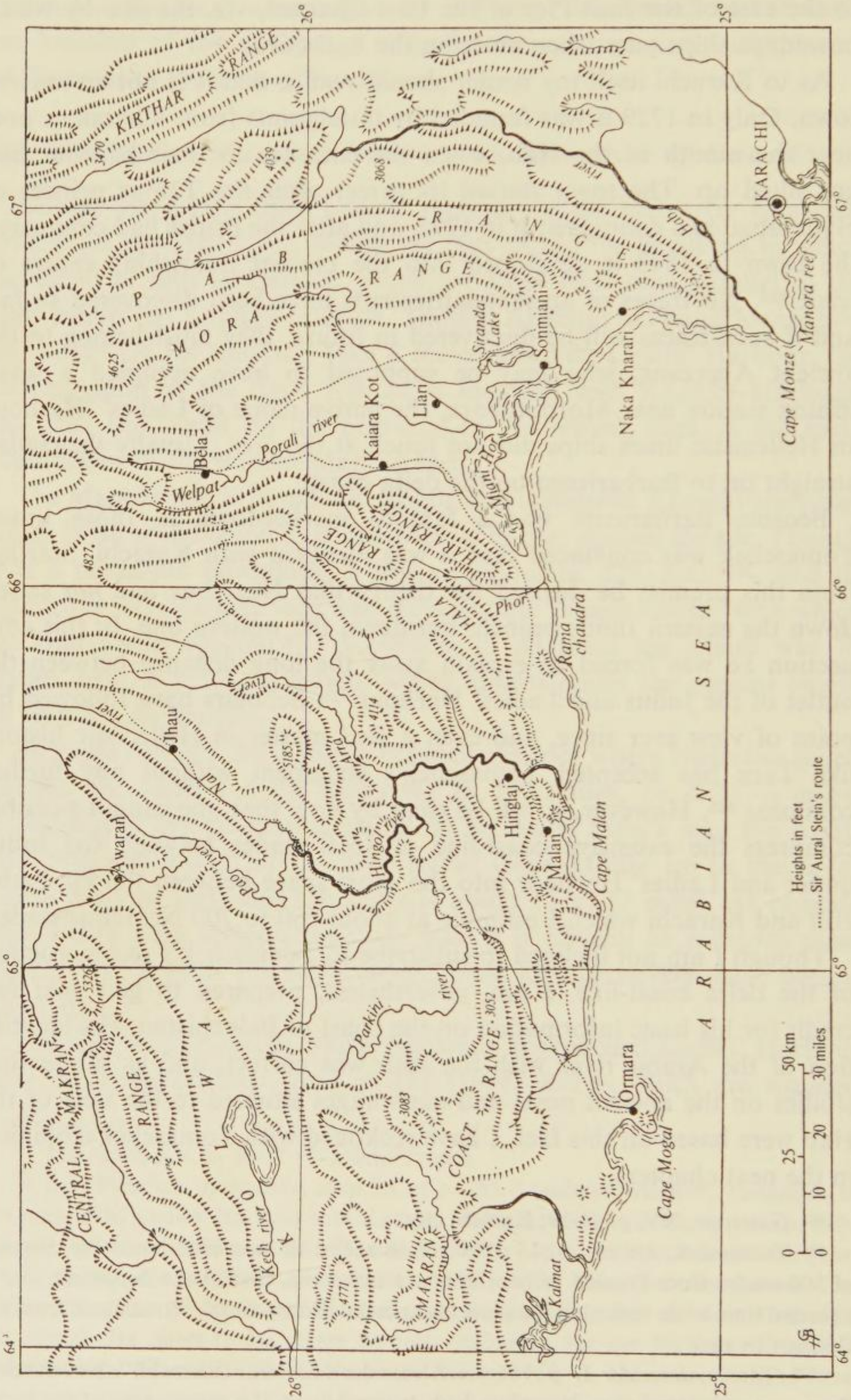
Because Barbaricum was a famous market-town in those times, Tomaschek was convinced that it was identical with Karachi. Starting from this premiss he devised the theory that Nearchus had *not* sailed down the eastern Indus branch, but down the western one. In this connection he was forced to explain away the long distance between the outlet of the Indus and Ladies' Harbour [224]. Scholars have followed his point of view ever since, and even a past master in Hellenistic history like Tarn has accepted Tomaschek's statement without any further comment [225]. However, it will be clear by now that one cannot possibly compress the extensive coast-line of 1610 stades between the Indus outlet and Ladies' Harbour into the short space between the Pir Patho Hill and Karachi which I estimate at about 600 to 700 Nearchus-stades.

Though I am not inclined to subscribe to Tomaschek's reconstruction of the delta coast-line, I am, nevertheless, prepared to give him full credit for his basic information on the coast of Baluchistan. His identifition of the Arabis river with the Hab was correct, and as his further studies on the ancient ports and anchorages situated to the west of the Hab were based on this fact, I have reckoned with Tomaschek's opinion in the next chapters.

[223] *Gazetteer*, XV, p. 11-19: Karāchi city.

[224] Tomaschek, *op. cit.*, p. 15 : "Nearchus seems to have mentioned the distance of 300 stades from Domae to Morontobara twice, viz. first at the departure, and a a second time while resuming the same distance at Morontobara" (translated from the German by me).

[225] Tarn, *Alexander* I, p. 106 : « Alexander's harbour (Karachi)". Nevertheless Tarn was convinced that Nearchus had dropped down the *eastern* arm of the Indus to its mouth, see Tarn, *Alexander*, I, p. 106.



Map 3 : Baluchistan

CHAPTER III

ALEXANDER'S CAMPAIGN IN BALUCHISTAN

§ 1. Historio-geographical notes on eastern Baluchistan

From an orographical point of view the eastern part of Baluchistan differs a great deal from the western portion. Whereas in the west the mountain ranges run from east to west parallel to the coast-line, in the east the general direction is from the north to the south. In between the Kirthar and the Pab ranges the Hab river flows due south to the Arabian Sea. The Pab range and the Mora range, which runs parallel to it, stretch along the eastern edge of the triangular plain of Las Bela, which is drained by the Porali river. To the west the plain is fringed by the barren hills of the Hara ranges. During the monsoon rains the Porali provides fertility for parts of the plain, especially in the north, but for most of the year the wide branching flood beds carry no water so that the arid valley lower down does not produce more than the thinnest desert vegetation. Facilities for grazing are afforded where the terminal beds of the Porali, and other small streams, run down towards the coast, which has a stretch of about 50 miles. Plentiful grazing is to be found also in the mangrove swamps lining the shore of the Miani Hor lagoon, which extends along the most of the southern end of the Las Bela plain.

In Alexander's times this plain was occupied by the tribe of the Oritans, whose political influence made itself felt far beyond the proper plain westward to Cape Malan. Though, in fact, the plain may geographically be reckoned as terminated westwards by the Hara and Hala ranges between which the Phor river flows due south, from a political point of view the coastal strip between the Phor and the Hingol rivers belongs to the Las Bela plain as well. The Hara range does not reach the sea, and the Hala curves to the south-west until it finally terminates in the Arabian Sea some 10 miles to the west of the outlet of the Hingol river. One can easily follow the track leading westward to the shrine of Hinglaj on the Hingol river [226].

[226] For all these geographical details, see Stein, *Tour Las Bela*, p. 194-196; *Gazetteer*, VI, p. 266, *s.v.* : Baluchistan; Robertson, *op. cit.*, p. 8-20, esp. p. 15.

The ridges of the Hala on the right, or western, bank of the Hingol present a natural barrier, but there is a pass leading into the small plain of Malan which in its turn is shut off to the west by the Malan range, an offshoot of the Makran Coast range. During his archaeological tour Sir Aurel Stein went across the ridges which separate the Hingol valley from the Malan plain, and it appeared that the crossing was not too difficult. On the other hand the Buzelak, or "Goats' Pass", leading from the Malan plain across the Malan range into the plain of Ormara proved to be very steep. Therefore, Stein concluded that Alexander the Great was not likely to have passed across the Malan range, as the Buzelak pass could never have served for the movement of any large body of men encumbered with baggage [227]. For the same reason the ancient Oritans of the Las Bela plain are not likely to have ever extended their political influence beyond the formidable Malan barrier.

The Hingol river and the shrine of Hinglaj

Anyway the Hingol river presents a suitable boundary to the west. It is the largest river of Baluchistan, and it is known by a variety of names, among which the Nal has got some renown since the village of Nal proved to have been the centre of a local culture which was partly contemporaneous with the Indus civilization. Its extensive cemetery (2100-1750 B.C.) showed that the dominant rite was that of fractional burial, viz. the burial of fragments of the skeleton after exposure elsewhere. Other excavations have shown that Nal ware occurred abundantly in the upland and extended far down towards Makran [228].

The principal affluents join the Hingol in the south : the Pao, or Mashkai, and the Parkini flowing from the west, and the Arra from the east. At Kurragi near Jhau the water supply becomes perennial, and after having passed through a series of narrow gorges the main river falls into the Arabian Sea at some 10 miles' distance from Hinglaj, the best-known place of pilgrimage in Baluchistan.

Captain Hart visited the shrine in 1840, and he left an account of his visit [229]. It took a century before the next European inspected the shrine :

[227] Stein, *Tour Las Bela*, p. 204-206.

[228] Stein, *Tour Gedrosia*, p. 166-170; Wheeler, *op. cit.*, p. 12-13; Hendrickx-Baudot, *op. cit.*, II (scheme at the end of the volume).

[229] Hart, *op. cit.*, p. 77 *sqq.*; this paper was not available to me, but extensive quotations occur in Robertson, *op. cit.*; see also *Gazetteer*, XIII, p. 142, *s.v.* : Hinglaj and Hingol.

Sir Aurel Stein, who left an interesting description of the stone block which the Hindus regard as a representation of Durgā, otherwise called Mother Nani, whereas the Muslims take it for the grave-stone of the tomb of 'Ali's wife. It is the westernmost Hindu *tīrtha*, and the Hindu pilgrims make the journey by land from Karachi under the guidance of a *purohita* known as the Agowa [230].

The few historical data I was able to collect are the next details. The town of *Hiṅgulāja* and its temple, called *Hiṅgupiṭham*, are mentioned in the *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra*, a tantric book dating from the 18th century A.D. [231].

[230] Stein, *Tour Las Bela*, p. 202-203; see esp. photographs no. 3 : Sacred pool below shrine of Mai Nani, no. 4 : Sacred image of Mai Nani, Hinglaj. See also p. 202 : "It may be safely assumed that the rites, etc., connected with the pilgrimage are regulated as usual at Tīrthas all over India by a Sanskrit Mahātmya text; but I regret not to have been able to secure this or a meeting with the *Agowa* at Karachi".

[231] *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra* III, 8, 12-13, see Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 75 :
"..... Saurāṣṭram śṛṇu sāmprataṃ//
Koṅkaṇātpaścimaṃ tīrttvā samudraprāntagocaraḥ/
Hiṅgulājāntakaṃ devi śatayojanamāśritaḥ//
Saurāṣṭro deśo deveśi nāmnā tu Gurjarābhidhaḥ//"

Translation :

"Hark, pay now attention to Saurāṣṭra; if, oh goddess, one crosses from Konkan westward to Hingulāja, there lies along the shore of the Ocean the land of Saurāṣṭra, a hundred yojanas in length, which, oh queen of Goddesses, is also called Gurjara".

Śaktisaṅgama Tantra III, 8, 30-31, see Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 77 :
"Karatoyāṃ samārabhya Hiṅgulājāntakam śive/
Vakrāntadeśo deveśi mahāmlecchaparāyaṇaḥ//
Hiṅgupīṭhaṃ samārabhya Matkeśāntaṃ maheśvari/
Khurāśanābhidho deśo mlecchamārgaparāyaṇaḥ//"

Translation :

"Oh auspicious One, from the Karatoyā up to Hiṅgulāja extends the land of Vakrānta, a resort to many Barbarians; from the sacred place of Hiṅgu up to the Lord of Mecca, oh mighty goddess, extends the land called Khurasan, a resort to Barbarians on pilgrimage"; as to Vakrānta, cf. "Bakra ka Nandi Peak", Map 4.

Śaktisaṅgama Tantra III, 8 ,9-10, see Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 81 :
"Vāruṇākhyaṃ tathā devi kathyate śṛṇu sāmprataṃ//
Makkeśvaraḥ paścimāyāmuttare Hiṅgulā bhavet/
Trailokyavijayā devi dakṣabhāge prakīrttitā//"

Translation :

"Likewise, oh goddess, according to report there is a country called after Varuṇa; listen : to the west the Lord of Mecca is situated, to the north is Hiṅgulā, in the south the Conqueror of the Three Worlds (Trailokya-vijayā) is glorified".

Note : Trailokyavijayā is a sort of Indian hemp, from which an intoxicating infusion is prepared. Is there any relation to Hiṅgulā, who is known to be the goddess of the Asa Foetida plant? Sircar restricts himself only to the geographical details of the tantric text, see Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 68-109 : *Account of fifty-six countries.*

Furthermore, there is a Buddhist legend about the *yakṣiṇī Hingulācī* which Tāranātha has handed down in his *History of Buddhism* dating from 1608 A.D. [232]. According to the author she lived "in the west in the country of Sindhu", and she used to devour human and animal sacrifices. In the times of the emperor Aśoka she was finally converted to Buddhism by the holy teacher Sudarśana. In my opinion Sudarśana is a legendary double of Aśoka himself. "Aśoka" was his individual name, but his official name was *Priyadarśin*, Prakrit : *Piyadassi*. or "he who regards amiably", or "of gracious mien" [233]. *Sudarśana*, or "he whose regard is gracious" is in fact a synonym of *Priyadarśin*. Later on I hope to show that this legend has a historical kernel, viz. Aśoka's propaganda of Buddhism in the region of the so-called Fish-eaters [234].

I am not certain whether the town of Hinglaj is hinted at in the *Mahā-māyūrī-vidyā-rājñī*, or "Royal knowledge of the great peacock", a Buddhist magic text which was translated five times from the Sanskrit into Chinese in between the fourth and eighth centuries A.D. From the introduction it appears that the text was supposed to have been revealed by the Buddha himself to Ānanda, and that it was a charm against snake-bites. It consists of a long series of towns and of the yakṣas who act as protectors of the relevant places. The passage in question runs as follows [235] :

"(the Yakṣas) Nandi and Vardhana in the town of Hiṅguvardhana".

The Indian Office text gives the town the name of *Nandi-vardhana*, or "increasing joy". As the protectors of the town are called Nandi and Vardhana the reading seems to be correct. However, the Buddhist monk Sanghabhara, who for the first time translated the *full* text into Chinese in A.D. 516, has handed down the reading *Hiṅguvardhana*, or "increasing the Asa Foetida plant". The Asa Foetida, or Scorodosma foetidum Bge., grows in the hill country of Baluchistan. From the stalk the Baluch tap the so-called "shīr-i hing", or "Asa Foetida milk", and in spite of its foul smell they consider it to be a delicacy [236]. The Burnouf manuscript of Paris supplies the reading *Hiṅgumardana*, or "pounding the Asa Foetida", but this reading should be rejected because the plant

[232] Schiefner, *op. cit.*, p. 46-47.

[233] On the titles of Aśoka, see Thapar, *op. cit.*, p. 226-227.

[234] See p. 65-67.

[235] Lévi, *Catalogue*, p. 39. For the discussion of this special problem, see Lévi, *Catalogue*, p. 19-29, and p. 78-89.

[236] Bretzl, *op. cit.*, p. 284-292 (= *Ueber Scorodosma foetidum Bge.*).

is not pounded but tapped. In this connection the question arises whether the goddess Hingulācī was the protectrix of the *hiṅgu* or Asa Foetida plant. I am convinced she was, and I suppose that the monk Sanghabhara, when preferring the reading Hiṅguvardhana to Nandivardhana, had the town of Hinglaj in mind. On the other hand it is highly improbable that the author of the "Royal knowledge of the great peacock" himself had the town of Hinglaj in mind as well. The town of Nandivardhana is known to have been visited by the Buddha during his legendary tour in North-West India, and it has, therefore, been located between Jalalabad and Peshawar. Moreover the "Royal knowledge of the great peacock" mentions Nandivardhana between Rauruka and Lampāka, and Lampāka is identical with present Lamghan, otherwise called Laghman, situated in the Kabul valley [237].

The ancient Oritans and the present Brahui tribes

In c. 325 B.C. the plain of Las Bela was occupied by the Oritans, an autonomous tribe [238] about which Arrianus gives the next particulars [239] :

"Such Oreitans as live inland, away from the sea, dress as the Indians do, and equip themselves similarly for warfare; but their dialect [240] and customs differ".

In fact there was only one custom different from those of the Indians, as it appears from Diodorus's report [241] :

"These Oreitae have the same customs as the Indians in other respects, but have one practice which is strange and quite unbelievable. The bodies of the dead are carried out by their relatives, who strip themselves naked and carry spears. They place the bodies in thickets which exist in the country and remove the clothing from them, leaving them to be the prey of wild beasts. They divide up the clothing of the dead, sacrifice to the heroes of the nether world, and give a banquet to their friends".

[237] Since I identified Rauruka with Rambacia, the port of Alexandria on the coast of the Oritans, one can of course go the other way round, and suggest that the right reading *must* be Hiṅguvardhana because the name follows closely after the name of Rauruka. For my identification or Rauruka, see p. 157.

[238] Strabo, *Geogr.*, XV, 2, 1.

[239] Arrianus, *Indica*, 25, 2.

[240] Greek γλῶσσα, or "tongue" may be translated by "language" as well; see also the corresponding fragment handed down by Plinius, *Nat. Hist.*, VI, 95, on p. 65 of this book.

[241] Diodorus, *Bibl. Hist.*, XVII, 105, 1-2.

From this evidence Tarn concludes that the Oritans were Iranians. It is true, various classic authors state that Iranian tribes used to practice similar customs. The Bactrians and Sogdians are said to throw out their sick and elderly to be devoured by dogs. The Sogdians are said to kill their parents, while the Scythians eat them. In Hyrcania the dead are devoured by dogs, but in Bactria by birds [242]. On the other hand recent excavations in the Nal acrea have shown that the praehistoric Nal tribe practiced fractional burial, and these Nal tribesmen were possibly Dravidians, and certainly no Iranians [243]. For the rest, long before the discovery of the remains of Harappa and Mohenjo Daro Holdich supposed that the Oritans belonged to the same stock as the present Brahui tribes.

Brahui is spoken in the mountainous tracts of Jhalawan around Nal, and in Sarawan, the region between Quetta and Kalat. It is a Dravidian tongue which was never ousted by the Pashtu speaking Pathans, who came from Afghanistan, or by the Baluch, who emigrated from Kirman under the impact of the Seljük invasian in the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D., or by the Indians from Sind who are settled in the plain of Las Bela, and who speak a Sindi dialect called Jadgali [244].

The presence of this Dravidian people separated by a vast distance from the Dravidian speaking inhabitants of South India has always caught and held the attention of scholars. Colonel Holdich called Rambacia, the capital of the Oritans in the Las Bela state, "the ancient Dravidian capital" [245]. In view of the gloss Morontobara = Ladies' Harbour Tomaschek wrote that the name was not likely to be of Aryan origin, and he suggested that beside the Aryan colonists there lived autochotons of Dravidian stock near the Hab river [246]. Nowadays this language is playing an important part in the efforts to decipher the mysterious script of the Indus civilization.

Though I am prepared to believe that in the third and second millennia B.C. some kind of ancient Dravidian was spoken in Baluchistan,

[242] Examples enumerated by Welles, *op. cit.*, p. 423, note 3. The rite of exposure of the dead was known in Taxila, see Strabo, *Geogr.*, XV, 1, 62 : "Aristobulus mentions some novel and unusual customs at Taxila : ... and the dead are thrown out to be devoured by vultures". Without doubt the inhabitants of Taxila were Indians, but this custom points out that in Alexander's times there was an Iranian colony in Taxila.

[243] See p. 58, and *ibidem*, note 228.

[244] See Stein, *Tour Gedrosia*, p. 13-15; for the Pathans, see Caroe, *op. cit.*; for the Baluch, see Frye, *op. cit.*, esp. *ibidem*, p. 47, and Spooner, *op. cit.*

[245] Holdich, *Makran*, p. 394.

[246] Tomaschek, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

I am not convinced, I fear, that a such-like Dravidian preponderance still existed in c. 325 B.C. Meanwhile Indo-Aryan tribes had conquered the Indus and Ganges river basins. The inscriptions of Aśoka (268-239 B.C.) show that in Northern India various Prakrit dialects were spoken, which were no doubt the same dialects which were current in Alexander's times. Moreover, when Alexander occupied the Oritan district Baluchistan had been part of the Old Persian empire for about two centuries. The Oritans were, most probably, controlled by the satrap of Arachosia, for the latter levied tribute in the Punjab, and when Alexander founded "Alexandria near Oritene", he settled Arachosians in the new town [247]. One may suppose that, like the Baluch in medieval times, in the Old Persian period Iranian tribes had moved eastward through the open valleys between the mountain ranges of western Baluchistan which ran parallel to the sea.

However, apart from the hypothetical percentage of either Iranian, or Dravidian culture, the Indian influence on the Oritans must have been preponderant. Anyway, it is pointed out by the classic sources I have quoted. Therefore, I take it for certain that the aristocracy and the merchant class of the Oritans were thoroughly hinduized. I suppose that in the coastal area some Prakrit dialect was spoken, but that in the inland an ancient form of Dravidian was still preponderant.

§ 2. Historio-geographical notes on western Baluchistan

From the Kalat plateau in the north-eastern angle of Baluchistan four parallel ranges first curve south-west, after which they gradually take a western direction. They are known as the Makran Coast range, the Central Makran range, the Siahan range, and the Ras Koh range. They are composed of bare rocky limestone and conglomerate, but the hills of the Makran Coast range are distinguished by the absence of stone, and the white clay of which they consist has been worn by the lapse of ages into fantastic shapes. The Makran Coast range dominates the coastal strip, which is almost entirely desert, presenting a succession of arid clay plains impregnated with saline matter and intersected by water courses. The coast-line shows repreatedly promontories and peninsulas of white clay cliffs, table-topped in form. From Cape Jask near the entrance of the Persian Gulf up to an undetermined spot beyond the

[247] Curtius, *Hist. Alex.*, IX, 10, 7 (Alexandria) and Curtius, *Hist. Alex.*, IX, 7, 14 (Punjab).

outlet of the Hingol river the coast bears the name of Makran (Mākkurān) The best explanation of this name is the one proposed by Eilers. In his opinion the designation is derived from New Persian *Mak-kirān*, or "Coast of the Makā". The tribe of the Makā is identical with the *Mačiyā*, mentioned in the Old Persian inscriptions, and Maka itself represents the Iranized form of Sumerian *Má-gan* [248]. Perhaps the present fishermen, the Meds, are descendants of the Ikhthyophagi, or "Fish-eaters", mentioned by Nearchus.

The Fish-eaters, the identification of the Tomerus river, and the Graeco-Aramaic inscription by Aśoka

When Nearchus wanted to disembark near a lagoon at the outlet of the Tomerus river, he had to fight against a force of some 600 Fish-eaters. From the description it appears that they still lived in the Stone Age [249] :

"Those captured were hairy, not only their heads but the rest of their bodies; their nails were rather like beasts' claws; they used their nails (according to report) as if they were iron tools; with these they tore asunder their fishes, and even the less solid kinds of wood; everything else they cleft with sharp stones; for iron they did not possess. For clothing they wore skins of animals, some even the thick skins of the larger fishes".

Tomaschek was first to have identified the Tomerus river with the Hingol [250]. He drew this conclusion from the fact that Nearchus's next anchorage was "the district ... called Malana", which was "the last point in the territory of he Oreitans" [251], and that the present plain of Malan as well as Cape Malan have preserved the ancient name.

Flavius Philostratus has handed down that these Fish-eaters lived in a city called Stobera [252] :

"And they say that they came across the people called the Fish-eaters, whose city is Stobera; and they clothe themselves in the skins of very large fishes, and the cattle there look like fish and eat extraordinary things; for the shepherds feed them upon fish".

[248] Leemans, *op. cit.*, p. 29, note 1 (letter of W. Eilers), and extensive survey of the problem in Frye, *op. cit.*, p. 44-46. On the geography of western Baluchistan, see *Gazetteer*, VI, p. 266-268, *s.v.* Baluchistan, and *Gazetteer*, XVII, p. 44-51, *s.v.* Makran. On Persian Baluchistan, see Harrison, *Makran.*

[249] Arrianus, *Indica*, 24, 9.

[250] Tomaschek, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

[251] Arrianus, *Indica*, 25, 1.

[252] Philostratus, *Vita Ap.*, III, 55.

"Stobera" is the feminine form of "Stoberus", which in its turn is, obviously, related to the variant reading "Tomerus", or the name of the river where Nearchus met the Fish-eaters first. For the rest there are a great many variant readings of this river name, like "Tonberus" (Plinius), "Tubero" (Mela) [253].

I suppose that the native name after which all these variant readings are coined was in fact a tribal name, and that the Greek and Macedonian sailors designated indiscriminately the river, the settlement and the tribe by the same name. Consequently the designation cannot be expected to represent a typical river name like the Rhine, from Celtic *rên* = stream, or the Sindhu (Indus), from Sanskrit *sidh* = to go. We may compare the name of the upper part of the Hingol, which is called Nal river after the village of Nal.

I avail myself of the opportunity to bring into prominance a most enigmatic note on the Fish-eaters in Plinius's Natural History [254] :

"Others place the Gedrusi and Sires as covering an area of 138 miles [255], and then the Fish-eating Oritae, who do not speak the Indian language but have one of their own, covering a space of 200 miles [256]. *Alexander made an order forbidding a fish diet to all the Fish-eaters.* Next they put the race of the Arbii, covering 200 miles [257]. Beyond them is a region of desert, and then come Carmania, Persis and Arabia".

In Tarn's opinion the passage printed in italics means "the establishment, or attempted establishment, of agriculture by some ruler" [258]. Evidently Tarn was not prepared to attribute the eccentric order to Alexander the Great. He was right, for since in 1957 the Graeco-Aramaic inscription of Kandahar was discovered, we are in a position to point out that the order was issued by Aśoka in 258/257 B.C.

The text of the inscription is as follows [259] :

"10 years ... king Piodasses instructed people in Piety. And after that he caused people to conform themselves to Piety more and more.

And everything prospers over the whole earth. And the king abstains from (killing) living beings and so do the other men and *all the king's hunters and*

[253] Plinius, *Nat. Hist.*, VI, 93; Mela, *Chorographia*, III, 71.

[254] Plinius, *Nat. Hist.*, VI, 95.

[255] See p. 82.

[256] See p. 61, and *ibidem*, note 240.

[257] The Arbii are the *Ābhīra* tribe; see also p. 53, and *ibidem*, note 218 *in fine.*

[258] Tarn, *Alexander*, II, p. 254, and *ibidem*, note 7.

[259] See Schlumberger, *op. cit.*; Tucci, *Editto*; Carratelli, *Edict*; Eggermont, *Edicts*, p. 43, and Eggermont, *Review 2.*

fishermen have stopped hunting (*and fishing*). And if some were intemperate, they discontinued their intemperance as much as possible.

And (being) obedient to their father and mother and to the elders, they will, like in the past also in future, behave continually better and more correct in all (these) respects".

The inscription is not an exceptional specimen. It belongs to the large class of the Conversion Edicts, otherwise called Minor Rock Edicts, which Aśoka caused to be inscribed on rocks in the neighbourhood of important places at a great many spots in India in the course of the tenth current year of his rule. From the contents of Rock Edict no. 8 we know that in that year Aśoka made a pilgrimage to the holy Bodhi tree (Ficus Religiosa), where the Buddha was freed from the bonds of *saṃsāra* by the knowledge of the Four Jewels and the Eightfold Path [260] :

"In times past kings used to set out on pleasure-trips. On these (trips) hunting and other pleasures were (enjoyed).

But when king Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin had been anointed ten years, he went to Sambodhi [261].

That is, this (is) a Piety-trip, where the following takes place : visiting Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas and making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in Piety, and questioning (them) about Piety, as suitable for this (occasion).

This second period (of the reign) of king Devānāṃpriya Priyadarśin becomes a pleasure in a higher degree".

From the edict it appears that Aśoka instructed the people in "Dharma", and questioned them about "Dharma". I translated the word by "Piety" because Vincent Smith has introduced the expression "Law of Piety". Elsewhere I have translated it by "Morality", Dutch : *Goede moraal*, but in fact the word covers a large area of meanings. Dharma may be said to mean the ethical concept of material and mental prosperity, or the rightful relation between the individual person, the society, and the cosmic order.

The Conversion Edict of Kandahar shows that when instructing the people in Dharma, Aśoka restricted himself to a few basic principles, like abstaining from killing living beings, self-restraint, and obedience to father, mother and elders. These qualities are a *condition sine qua non* of all the Indian religions, for they belong to the *śīlaṃ*, the good moral conduct. Likewise they are part of the Buddhist Eightfold Path,

[260] Eggermont, *Chronology*, p. 77.

[261] "Sambodhi" means the Bodhi tree, see Eggermont, *Chronology*, p. 79-80; this interpretation was corroborated by Lingat, *op. cit.*

and therefore Aśoka was preparing the way for Buddhism as well when he preached the Dharma in his Graeco-Aramaic inscription. For that reason one may state that the year 258 B.C. marks the beginning of Buddhist propaganda in Iran.

The Greek inhabitants of Alexandria in Arachosia, modern : Kandahar, were acquainted with Aśoka's inscription. Some time after the death of Aśoka some Greek traveller may have attributed the inscription to Alexander the Great who was known to have conquered the region long ago. The inscription and especially the peculiar line about the fishermen who had stopped fishing became part of the Alexander legends, and in its distorted form the phrase was quoted by Clitarchus in his History of Alexander [262]. Finally Plinius inserted the line in his Natural History, and in this way a far echo of Aśoka's message to the Western world has been preserved from oblivion.

In my opinion Aśoka's propaganda was not restricted to Arachosia. It must have penetrated as far as the Hingol river, as the country of the Oritans belonged to India in the times of the Mauryan empire [263]. Moreover, the legend about the conversion to Buddhism of Hiṅgulācī, the godess of the Asa Foetida plant, by the saint Sudarśana, *alias* Priyadarśin *alias* Aśoka points that way. The legend seems to have a historical kernel after all [264].

The Kech valley, the Kolwa tract, and the passage of Alexander through Gedrosia

Across the Makran Coast range lies the valley of the Kech river. This valley is continued westward by its tributary, the Nihing, and eastward by the open Kolwa tract. This tract is drained at its extreme south-western end by the Kech, and at the opposite north-eastern end by the Pao, or Mashkai, a tributary of the Hingol [265].

The major portion in the middle is entirely drainless. Though the soil at the bottom of the trough is potentially fertile, the basin is a salt-encrusted waste with scanty scrub in consequence of the precarious

[262] Plinius quoted Clitarchus; evidence in Tarn, *Alexander*, II, p. 241. It follows, therefore, that the *annus a quo* of Clitarchus's History of Alexander is 258 B.C., or the 10th year of Aśoka reign. However, in view of his confusing Alexander with Aśoka it is probable that Clitarchus wrote a considerable time after Aśoka's death, perhaps in the 2nd century B.C.

[263] See p. 83.

[264] See p. 60.

[265] Stein, *Tour Gedrosia*, p. 7-12.

nature of the rainfall. However, in years of good rainfall, Kolwa attracts hundreds of harvesters to share in the rich yield of barley. In pre-historic times the Kolwa tract was occupied by a large and settled population. When Sir Aurel Stein visited the country during his archaeological tour he was struck by the great number of ancient sites.

The Kech valley is the backbone of economic activities in these parts. Throughout the year irrigation is made possible by subterraneous canals, or *kārez*, and cuts taking off from large pools in the river-bed, or *kaur-jo*. The united waters of the Kech and the Nihing find their way to the Arabian Sea through the Dasht valley, which shares the fertility of the Kech basin. Marco Polo (A.D. 1254-1324) called the country the kingdom of Kes-Macoran [266] :

"Kes-Macoran is a kingdom having a king of their own and a peculiar language. Some of the people are Idolaters, but most part are Saracens. They live by merchandize and industry, for they are professed traders, and carry on much traffic by sea and by land in all directions. Their food is rice and corn, flesh and milk, of which they have great store ... And you must know that the kingdom is the last in India as you go towards the west and northwest".

The district, called Makran District in British Imperial times, was the successor of this mediaeval kingdom. It represented an extensive area belonging to Kalat State, and it was bounded to the east by the Hingol river, to the north by the Siahan range, to the west by Persian Baluchistan, and to the south by the sea from Gwattar bay eastward up to the inlet of Kalmat.

Therefore the reader should be careful to distinguish the Makran, represented by the district, from the Makran represented by the coastal strip extending from Cape Jask eastward to the Hingol river.

The Greek geographers divided the combined areas of present Persian and Pakistani Baluchistan into three portions, viz. Oritene, which was bounded to the west by the Tomerus, or Hingol river, the country of the Fish-eaters, or the Makran coast, and Gedrosia, which comprised the inland of Persian Baluchistan and half the area of Pakistani Baluchistan behind the Makran Coast range to the west of the Hingol river. In Gedrosia Alexander's army suffered many hardships, and a great many casualties were reported though there was no actual fighting. All the scholars agree that the Kolwa tract must have been the scene of Alexander's passage through Gedrosia. As it is stated by Stein, the utter inadequacy of local supplies, the want of sufficient grazing, and

[266] Yule, *op. cit.*, II, p. 410 sqq.

in many places even of water, must have rendered the passage by a considerable force a very hazardous undertaking [267]. On the other hand there is disagreement about the question by which route Alexander had got into Kolwa. Colonel Holdich holds that after the crossing of the Hab river Alexander moved along the coast up to the outlet of the Hingol. As the coastal route was barred by the impassable barrier of Cape Malan, Alexander turned into the Hingol valley and later on into the valley of its tributary, the Parkini, and so arrived finally in Kolwa [268]. On the other hand Stein supposes that Alexander marched from the Hab river northward until he had arrived in the Welpat tract near Bela. The Welpat tract lies at the apex of the triangular plain of the Porali river. Then Alexander followed the ancient caravan trail leading westward to Jhau on the Nal river, and from there he marched to Awaran situated at the extreme eastern end of Kolwa [269].

As the solution of this problem is closely connected with the exact geographical location of "Alexandria near Oritene", I studied first the details supplied by Nearchus's report, and after that I compared the results with the data supplied by the reports regarding Alexanders' campaign in Baluchistan.

§ 3. Nearchus's voyage from the Hab river to the bay of Kalmat

After having left the anchorage in the mouth of the Hab river Nearchus's fleet skirted along the coast of the district of the Oritans [270] :

"Leaving the outlets of the Arabis they coasted along the territory of the Oreitans, and anchored at Pagala, after a voyage of 200 stades, near a breaking sea; but they were able all the same to cast anchor. The crews rode out the seas in their vessels, though a few went in search of water, and procured it.

Next day they sailed at dawn, and after making 430 stades they put in towards the evening at Cabana, and moored on a desert shore. There too was a heavy surf, and so they anchored their vessels well out to sea. It was on this part of the voyage that a heavy squall from seaward caught the fleet, and two warships

[267] Stein, *Tour Gedrosia*, p. 11.

[268] Holdich, *Retreat*, p. 117, and p. 122 sqq. This paper was not available to me, but it was quoted by Stein, *Tour Las Bela*, p. 219, and *ibidem*, note 1. See also Holdich, *Makran*, map opposite to p. 452, where Alexander's route is indicated. General Sykes agrees to Holdich's opinion, see Sykes, *Hist. Persia*, I, p. 276-277 : "About one hundred miles from the Arabius the Ras Malan forced the army to turn inland up the Hingol River".

[269] Stein, *Tour Las Bela*, p. 216.

[270] Arrianus, *Indica*, 23, 1-3.

were lost on the passage and one galley; the men swam off and got to safety, as they were sailing quite near the land".

Tomaschek identified Pagala with "Karrārī, or Kalarī". It is the same place as Naka Kharari on Stein's map [271]. Philostratus calls the anchorage "Pegadae", and from his account it appears that the country was renowned for its bronze [272] :

"And they say that they also touched at Pegadae in the country of the Oreitae. As for these people, they have rocks of bronze and sand of bronze, and the dust which the rivers bring down is of bronze. But they regard their land as full of gold because the bronze is of such high quality".

The identification of Pedagae, *ΠΗΓΑΔΑΙ,* with Pagala, *ΠΑΓΑΛΑ,* is certain because in majuscule script the *Δ* and the *Λ* are liable to be confused. This identification is important because it seems that this portion of Oritene is identical with the famous Bronze Land, *Χαλκίτις χώρα,* mentioned by Ptolemaeus [273]. It presents the key to the solution of a much more intricate problem, the construction of Ptolemaeus's map. However, I shall leave the question at that as it would carry me too far from my present subject.

The heavy seas seem to have carried the fleet past the Sonmiani inlet to some spot on the peninsula with protects the Miani Hor lagoon against the winds blowing from the Arabian Sea. The region where the ships anchored was called Cabana. So far nobody has identified it yet.

The identification of Cocala with the port of Alexandria in the Oritan country

About the next stage Arrianus has placed a great many details at our disposal [274] :

"But about midnight they weighed anchor and sailed as far as Cocala, which was about 200 stades from the beach off which they had anchored. The ships kept the open sea and anchored, but Nearchus disembarked the crews and bivouacked on shore; after all these toils and dangers in the sea, they desired to rest awhile. The camp was entrenched, to keep off the natives. Here Leonnatus, who had been in charge of operations against the Oreitans, beat in a great battle the Oreitans, along with others who had joined their enterprise. He slew some 6000 of them, including all the higher officers; of the cavalry with Leonnatus 15 fell, and of his infantry, among a few others, Apollophanes satrap

[271] Tomaschek, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
[272] Philostratus, *Vita Ap.*, III, 54.
[273] Ptolemaeus, *Geogr.*, VII, 2, 20.
[274] Arrianus, *Indica*, 23, 4-8.

of Gadrosia. This I have related in my other history, and also how Leonnatus was crowned by Alexander for this exploit with a golden coronet before the Macedonians.

There provision of corn had been gathered ready, by Alexandre's orders, to victual the host; and they took on board ten days' rations. The ships which had suffered in the passage so far they repaired; and whatever troops Nearchus thought were inclined to malinger he handed over to Leonnatus, but he himself recruited his fleet from Leonnatus' soldiery".

When after the conquest of the Oritan country Alexander marched off to the west, he appointed Apollophanes satrap of the district and Leonnatus commander-in-chief of the occupying force. Moreover Leonnatus was ordered to await Nearchus's fleet until it had sailed past this country, and to build a city called Alexandria [275]. From Arrianus's account it appears that when the fleet arrived a few months later, Leonnatus had crushed a rebellion of the Oritans and their allies meanwhile, but that Apollophanes had been killed in action. The Alexander town Leonnatus was ordered to build is referred to by the Byzantine scholar Stephanus in his list of the 18 Alexandrias [276] :

"The fourth (Alexandria) is the town of the Nearti, a people of the Fish-eaters, on the sea-route to India".

Meineke, the editor of Stephanus's text, corrected "Nearti" into "Oritae" because "Nearti" is known to be a variant reading. The manuscripts of Diodorus's *Bibliotheca Historica* show the readings Neoritae *(Νεώριται)*, Neoretae *(Νεώρηται)*, Neoreitae *(Νεώρειται)*, and the manuscripts of Curtius's *Historia Alexandri* the reading Noritae [277].

These Nearti, viz. Oritae, are supposed by Stephanus to belong to the tribes of the Fish-eaters. He had borrowed this contention from Clitarchus, which follows from the next information supplied by Plinius [278] :

[275] Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, VI, 22, 2-3.

[276] Meineke, *op. cit.*, p. 71 : *τετάρτη πόλις *Νεαρτῶν, ἔθνους Ἰχθυοφάγων, κατὰ τὸν περίπλουν τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ;* *Meineke corr. *Ὡριτῶν.*

[277] Diodorus, *Bibl. Hist.*, XVII, 105, 1 : variant readings in Welles, *op. cit.*, p. 422, note 2; compare also Diodorus, *Bibl. Hist.*, XVII, 104, 5 : Neoteris, *Νεωτερίς*, or "district of the Neoterae", a variant reading quoted in Welles, *op. cit.*. p. 420, note 2. As to Noritae, see Curtius, *Hist. Alex.*, IX, 10, 6 : variant reading quoted in Bardon, *op. cit.*, II, p. 388, note; the editor J. Froben corrected "Noritae" into "Horitae" which is not substantiated by any text. Compare Curtius, *Hist. Alex.*, XVIII, 11, 1, where the town of "Ora" in Udyāna is called "Nora", and "Nra"; Bardon, *op. cit.*, II, p. 327, turned it into "Ora", but Hedicke into "Hora". Diodorus and Curtius got these readings from their source Clitarchus.

[278] Plinius, *Nat. Hist.*, VII, 30, *in fine.*

"The river Arabis is the frontier between the Indians and the Oritae. These are acquainted with no other food but fish, which they cut to pieces with their nails and roast in the sun and thus make bread out of them, as is recorded by Clitarchus".

It is evident that the variant reading "Nearti" together with the notion of the Oritans' being Fish-eaters belongs wholesale to the tradition started by Clitarchus. Likewise it is clear from whom authors like Diodorus and Curtius had borrowed their peculiar variant readings. They had used Clitarchus's book as a source for their reports on Alexander's conquest of Oritene [279].

From a historio-geographical point of view the important detail is that according to Stephanus Alexandria of the Nearti, viz. Oritae, was situated on the sea-route to India. Was this Alexandria situated in the neighbourhood of Cocala where Nearchus met Leonnatus during his voyage along the Oritan coast? I pondered the problem over and over again; then it struck me that Tomaschek had compared the name of Cocala, Nearchus's anchorage, with "Origala" in "Alexandria apud Origala". The latter town is mentioned by Julius Valerius in a list of 12 Alexandrias enumerated in his book on the exploits of Alexander [280]. In this connection Tomaschek corrected "Alexandria apud ORIGALA" into "Alexandria apud COCALA" [281]. Though Tomaschek preferred the reading COCALA to ORIGALA, I should like to turn the other way round. In my opinion ORIGALA is the better reading because of the old rule *lectio difficilior praestat*. Apart from that there is another weighty reason in support of my view. The Oritan Alexandria *and its harbour* are mentioned by Plinius in his summary of Nearchus's voyage [282]:

"The record of the voyage of Onesicritus and Nearchus does not include the names of the official stopping places nor the distances travelled; and to begin with, no sufficiently clear account is given of the position of the city of Xilenepolis, founded by Alexander, which was their starting point, nor is the river on which it stood indicated [283]. Nevertheless they give the following places worth mentioning : the town of Abies, founded by Nearchus during his voya-

[279] Tarn, *Alexander*, II, p. 241, and *ibidem*, note 3.

[280] Kuebler, *op. cit.*, p. 168 = Valerius, *Res Gestae*, III, 60. Julius Valerius wrote his book in between A.D 270 and 330., see Kuebler, *op. cit.*, p. VII (Praefatio).

[281] Tomaschek, *op. cit.*, p. 19-20.

[282] Plinius, *Nat. Hist.*, VI, 96-98.

[283] Xilenepolis is the town of Canthi on the easternmost Indus branch near the salt lake behind the coast-line, see p. 34-37.

ge [284] : the river Nabris, navigable by ships [285] : an island opposite to it, 70 stades distant [286]; *Alexandria, founded in the territory of this race by Leonnatus at the order of Alexander*; *Argenuus with a serviceable harbour*; the nagivable river Tonberus, in the neighbourhood of which are the Parirae [287]; then the Fish-eaters, covering so wide a space of coast that it took 30 days to sail past them; the island called the Isle of the Sun and also the Couch of the Nymphs, the soil of which is red in colour, and on which all animals without exception die, from causes not ascertained [288]; the Ori tribe [289]" & c.

Alexandria and the harbour of Argenuus represent a pair of geographical names linked up the one with the other, because they seem to represent the city and its harbour. In fact "Alexandria and Argenuus" is the equivalent of "Alexandria apud Origala" mentioned by Julius Valerius. I suppose that the ancestor of "Argenuus" was the eparchy name ORITENE, *ΩPITHNH*. As in majuscule script the *T* is liable to be confused with the *Γ*, ORITENE was corrupted into ORIGENE, *ΩPIΓHNH*, from which sprang readings like ORGENE, ARGENE, and, finally, ARGENUUS.

On the other hand "Origala" is derived from the eparchy name ORITANA, *ΩPITANA*, which is the Doric pronunciation of Attic ORITENE. As in majuscule script the *T* can be mixed up with the *Γ*, and the *N* with the *Λ*, there could spring up readings like ORIGANA and ORIGALA.

Arrianus's COCALA is related to the latter Doric form. Though it is difficult to find out its pedigree — I should like to leave the solution of this problem to specialists — the historical and geographical details

[284] Abies is Barbaricum, or Alexander's Harbour, situated opposite to the island of Barace, see p. 34, and *ibidem*, note 144, and p. 40-41. The native name was Herukaccha, see p. 159-160.

[285] The Nabris is the Hab river, see p. 51; for the variant readings, see p. 34, note 145. The N of Nabris shows that Plinius got the reading from a Clitarchus manuscript, or from a source which had used Clitarchus, see p. 71, note 277.

[286] The island is identical with the present Manora reef opposite to Karachi Harbour, see p. 54.

[287] The Tonberus is identical with the Hingol river, see p. 64; the Parirae are the same people as the Pasirees, or inhabitants of the village of Pasira, situated at 60 stades' distance from the sea in the neighbourhood of present Ormara, see Arrianus, *Indica*, 26, 3, and p. 81.

[288] The island is identical with the island of Astalu lying in the Arabian Sea opposite to the inlet of Kalmat, see p. 81-82.

[289] Ori is a variant reading of Harmozeia in Carmania, see Arrianus, *Indica*, 33, 2. There Nearchus met Alexander. The place was situated near the mouth of the Minab river. The name is preserved by the island of Ormuz, or Hormuz, which d'Albuquerque conquered in A.D. 1507, see Tomaschek, *op. cit.*, p. 42-43.

I have discussed a little while back point out that Nearchus's anchorage is without doubt identical with the serviceable harbour near Alexandria. For the rest the name of this harbour cannot possibly have been Oritene, or Oritana. It means "the district of the Oritae". Later on I shall show that the harbour was called Ora, from which the name of the tribe was derived [290].

The geographical location of Alexandria and its harbour

Tomaschek identified Cocala, viz. Oritene, with the creek of the Phor river [291] :

"Near the outlet are the ruins of an ancient settlement, called Pur, or stronghold, and further inland there are three higher and four lower mud hills, one being 300 feet high, steep and light-coloured, with a crater of 20 yards diameter. It is called Rāma-chandra ki-kūp, or "source of the moon", Baluch : "daryā-cham", or "eye of the sea". Farther inland the Hārō range rises up to 1500 feet, stretching from the Phor river to the Hingōr river; near the western cape called Rās Kacharī rises an isolated hill, which at a distance looks like an island. It is called Ghorāb, or "ship". The 500 stades from Cocala to the mouth of the Tomerus correspond to the length of the coast-line from the Phor creek to the mouth of the Hingōr (Hingur, Hingul)".

In 1840 Captain Hart visited this region, and he noticed that occasionally water was found in the Phor river, and that it could always be procured by digging. He payed a visit to the Tilak Puri wells, situated to the west of the river, and he inspected the Rāma-chandra mountains [292].

In 1849 Captain Robertson visited the region in order to study the peculiar active mud craters which appear at several spots in the Makran Coast range. He had the useful sketch map drawn which I have joined to this book.

In 1943 Sir Aurel Stein payed the next visit, but unfortunately he did not comment on the Tilak Puri wells nor on the Pur ruins [293] :

"Where the Phor river, dry at the time, debouches towards the sea between the parallel Hala and Haro hill ranges, there are to be found some fields cultivated by graziers, amidst plentiful tamarisks and other tree growth. But on the stretch of the route, close on 40 miles, covered between a well in the Phor bed and the bank of the Hingol, water is to be found permanently only in a well at the deep-cut torrent bed of Sangal, and at the temporary grazing station at Munjawani to the east of it".

[290] See p. 99-100.

[291] Tomaschek, *op. cit.*, p. 20-21 (text translated by me from the German).

[292] See p. 58, and *ibidem*, note 229.

[293] Stein, *Tour Las Bela*, p. 201.

If we knew for certain that the harbour of Alexandria was situated at the outlet of the Phor, it would be worthwhile surveying the Phor region more carefully. Therefore I took to studying the distances mentioned in Arrianus's account, howsoever unreliable these figures may be. Anyway we have at our disposal two fixed points, the mouth of the Arabis, or Hab, river and the outlet of the Tomerus, or Hingol, river. In between these points the lengths of the day's voyages are as follows :

From the Arabis to Pagala	200 stades
From Pagala to Cabana	430 stades
From Cabana to Cocala	200 stades
From Cocala to the Tomerus	500 stades
Total :	1330 stades

Rounded off downwards the total length of the coast-line would be 1300 stades, or about 150 miles. However, the actual coast-line between the Hab and Hingol rivers is about 100 miles [294]. If, therefore, 1300 Nearchus-stades actually correspond to 100 miles, one Nearchus-stade should correspond to $^1/_{13}$ mile. As the distance between the Tomerus and Cocala is reported to be 500 stades, this distance may be supposed to correspond to 500 : 13 = c. 38 $^1/_2$ miles.

According to Captain Robertson's sketch map the length of the coast-line from the mouth of the Hingol down to Cape Ghorab-i Sing is about 12 miles, and from this Cape up to the outlet of the Phor about 14 miles. The true length of the coast-line between the mouths of the Hingol and the Phor is therefore about 26 miles. So it is evident that Nearchus's anchorage at Cocala must lie 38 $^1/_2$ - 26 = 12 $^1/_2$ miles to the east of the outlet of the Phor, viz. off the region indicated on Robertson's sketch map as "Khattaniara Wells", situated to the east of the Little Hara Hills.

Captain Hart has left a vivid picture of these hills [295] :

"Although their height is not very great, yet they present a singularly wild appearance, from their rising at once from the plain at an angle of 45 degrees on their eastern side, with a greater slope to the west-ward, and being totally bare of all verdure. They are composed of sandstone, and their summits are broken into rugged peaks of the most fantastic shapes".

[294] Sykes, *Hist. Persia*, I, p. 276-277 : "About one hundred miles from the Arabius the Ras Malan forced the army to turn inland up the Hingol River".

[295] Robertson, *op. cit.*, p. 8, note (quotation).

Captain Robertson adds that a group of active mud craters was situated in the hills at a distance of 6 miles from the "Kattewara" wells [296]:

"At this point of the Hara range the continuity of the sandstone ridges is broken on their eastern side, by the occurrence of an immense mass of whitish clay ... It seems as if a stream of liquid mud, descending from above in voluminous masses, had filled the hollows and covered the lower part of the sandstone ridges, leaving nothing visible but their highest rocks. The surface of the sheet of clay is honey-combed like that of the detached hills of the Koops. It is also intersected by numerous deep fissures and chasms. From the largest of these fissures, (which penetrates into the heart of the mass and winds round the base of the southern hill), there issues a stream of water which is perfectly clear and very inviting in appearance, but which, on being tasted, is found to be so salt as to be quite undrinkable. This stream, after leaving the fissure, flows through a ravine formed by the low sandstone ridges, and after leaving the ravine, is quickly absorbed in the sandy desert, which stretches from the Haras to the Pooralee. Several kinds of shrubs and plants flourish in the ravine; and on the banks of the stream a white salt is deposited".

Starting from the mouth of the Nakhatri stream Sir Aurel Stein travelled to Khandewari, which is, obviously, the same place as Robertson's "Kattewara" (text), or "Khattaniara" (sketch map) [297] :

"From here onwards our journey of 4 days to the Hingol lay all the way by a track skirting the foot of the much-broken hill chain and within easy reach of the coast. At Khandewari, the first stage, the route passes the westernmost end of the long crescent-shaped inlet of the sea known as the Miani Hor, and a police post guarding a small fishing station. From here onwards it was interesting to note that the ground where it is not crossed by low sandstone ridges, the last offshoots of the hill range, is cut up into small trenches and terraces running regularly from approximately south-west to north-east, all cut by wind erosion like the *Yardangs* of the Lop Nor basin. Low sand hillocks crowned by tamarisk growth rising above level sandy ground added to this resemblance, though here the desolate look of the landscape was relieved by the picturesque forms of the ridges and cones rising on the crest of the much-worn hill chain".

Is it possible that Khandewari and its small fishing-station have preserved the name of Alexandria founded by Leonnatus in this region? My calculation seems to point it out. It is though, based on very vague material, and therefore, it does not warrant any solid conclusion. On the other hand, the name of Khandewari (Kattewara, Khattaniara) can be compared with present Kandahar, which corresponds to the ancient town of Alexandria in Arachosia. Another argument in favour of the

[296] Robertson, *op. cit.*, p. 8-9.
[297] Stein, *Tour Las Bela*, p. 201.

identification of Khandewari with Alexandria near Oritene is its position at the westernmost end of the Miani Hor lagoon. The fishing-station is now separated from the Arabian Sea by the spit of land to the south of the lagoon, but 2.300 years ago this chersonese may not have existed at all. In Alexander's times the Arabian Sea must have penetrated much deeper northward, and it is possible that then Khandewari lay on the shore of the ocean. So far only excavations can prove whether my hypothesis is correct or wrong.

From Cocala to Malana. Length of the Oritan coast-line.

After his visit to Cocala Nearchus set sail once again [298] :

"Thence they set sail and progressed with a favouring wind; and after a passage of 500 stades they anchored by a torrent, which was called Tomerus. There was a lagoon at the mouths of the river, and the depressions near the bank were inhabited by natives in stifling cabins. These seeing the convoy sailing up were astounded, and lining along the shore stood ready to repel any who should attempt a landing. They carried thick spears, about six cubits long; these had no iron tip, but the same result was obtained by hardening the point with fire. They were in number about 600" &c.

After having dwelt at length on the tactics by which Nearchus succeeded to win the battle against the natives Arrianus favours us with an interesting description of their tools, food, and clothing [299]. Although he has failed to mention the name of the tribe one can take it for certain that they were a sept of the Fish-eaters [300]. Philostratus has handed down the name of their settlement. It was called Stobera, which is a variant reading of the Tomerus river, viz. the one which Tomaschek has identified with the Hingol [301].

Nearchus stayed ashore for five days, and then he headed for Malana [302]

"On the 6th day from this they set sail, and after voyaging about 300 stades they came to a country which was the last point in the territory of the Oreitans : the district was called Malana. Such Oreitans as live inland, away from the sea, dress as the Indians do, and equip themselves similarly for warfare; but their dialect and customs differ.

[298] Arrianus, *Indica*, 24, 1-3.

[299] See p. 64.

[300] According to Arrianus the natives who occupied the banks of the Tomerus hardened the points of their spears with fire, and Strabo, *Geogr.*. XV, 2, 2, repeats this detail in connection with an extensive description of the Fish-eaters : "... the same stones ... with which they sharpen arrows and javelines that have been hardened in fire".

[301] See p. 64-65.

[302] Arrianus, *Indica*, 25, 1-6.

The length of the coasting voyage along the territory of the Arabeis was about 1000 stades from the point of departure; the length of the Oreitan coast 1600. As they sailed along the land of India — for thence onward the natives are no longer Indians — Nearchus states that their shadows were not cast in the same way; but where they were making for the high seas and steering a southerly course, their shadows appeared to fall southerly too; but whenever the sun was at midday, then everything seemed shadowless. Then such of the stars as they had hitherto in the sky, some were completely hidden, others showed themselves low down towards the earth; those they had seen continually before were now observed both setting, and then at once rising again".

Malana is an eparchy name, and it means "the district of Mala". Tomaschek has identified the district with the plain of Malan situated between the ridges which dominate the western bank of the Hingol and the conspicious Malan range [303]. From the next list it appears that the length of the Oritan coast was 1630 stades :

From the Arabis to Pagala	200 stades
From Pagala to Cabana	430 stades
From Cabana to Cocala	200 stades
From Cocala to the Tomerus	500 stades
From the Tomerus to Malana	300 stades
Total :	1630 stades

Arrianus has, obviously, rounded off downwards this total to 1600 stades. For the rest, all the classic geographers unanimously estimate the length of the Oritan coast-line at 1600 stades.

Mount Maleus and the Fish-eaters of Stobera

Scholars have often wondered why Arrianus has failed to hand down any details about the conspicuous promontory of Malan. However, from the next passage of Plinius's Natural History it will appear that this cape must have figured in Nearchus's log-book [304] :

"There is a mountain named Maleus in the Indian tribe of the Oretes, near which shadows are thrown southward in summer and northward in winter; the northern constellation is visible there on only 15 nights. Also in India at the well-known port of Patala the sun rises on the right and shadows fall

[303] See p. 64.

[304] Plinius, *Nat. Hist.*, II, 184-185.

southward. It was noticed when Alexander was staying at this place that the Great and Little Bears were visible only in the early part of the night ..." &c.

As Arrianus has noted down similar details in connection with Nearchus's arrival at Malana, which was "the last point in the territory of the Oreitans", it follows that Mount Maleus must represent the present Cape Malan. The identification is important, for now we are in a position to identify the enigmatic people of the Suari mentioned in another similar passage of the Natural History [305] :

"Further up country from these are the Monaedes and the Suari, in whose domain is Mount Maleus upon which shadows fall towards the north in winter and towards the south in summer, for periods of 6 months alternately".

The tribe of the Suari must have lived near or not too far from Cape Malan. The only tribe which fulfils this condition is the sept of Fish-eaters living in the settlement of Stobera on the Tomerus, or Hingol, river. In the list of Nearchus's anchorages Malana follows next to the Tomerus river, the name of which is a variant reading of Stobera town, and besides the names of "Stobera" and "Suari" are closely related.

Plinius mentions these Suari once again in a list of geographical names belonging to the area of Ariana, viz. the eastern portion of the plateau of Iran. I quote only the end of the list [306] :

"... the navigable river Pomanus at the frontier of the Pandae and the Cabirus at that of the Suari, forming a good harbour at its mouth; the town of Condigramma and the river Cophes".

This time the Suari are connected with the Cabirus river. The latter name reminds one of the variant readings which the Diodorus manuscripts have handed down as designations of the *Ābhīra* tribe, viz. Abritae Habritae, Ambritae. The *Ābhīra* tribe occupied the district called "Aberia" by Ptolemaeus, viz. the coastal strip between the easternmost Indus branch and the Hab river [307]. The "Cabirus" river must be identical with the Hab which separated Aberia from Oritene, or eastern Baluchistan This identification is corroborated by Plinius's information that the river formed "a good harbour at its mouth". It tallies with Arrianus's report

[305] Plinius, *Nat. Hist.*, VI, 69.

[306] Plinius, *Nat. Hist.*, VI, 94; Rackham, *op. cit.*, p. 410, translates "the river Cophes" by "the river Kabul", which is correct. Though the greater part of the list mentions places belonging to East Iran, there are a few Indian places as well, like "Peucolis", or Puṣkalāvati in Gandhāra, and "Methorcum", or Mathurā on the Yamunā.

[307] See p. 49.

that the fleet of Nearchus anchored "in the mouth of the river Arabis", and that "there was a fine large harbour by the mouth" [308].

There remains the problem why the "Cabirus", or Hab river is supposed to belong to the "Suari", who lived on the Hingol river about hundred miles to the west of it. However, this contention should be compared with similar geographical locations connected with Mount Maleus. On the one hand this cape is said to belong to the territory of the Oritae, and on the other it is supposed to be situated in the domain of the Suari. The solution is that there were in the district of the Oritans two important political centres, viz. the village of Ora where Alexander caused his Alexandria in Oritene to be built [309], and Stobera on the Hingol, where Nearchus had to fight against the Fish-eaters. In Alexander's times the village of Ora was the most important centre. For this reason he selected there the place where Alexandria had to be founded. It is the only reason why the Alexander historians used to call all the inhabitants of the district Oritans. There is no evidence whatever that Ora is a tribal name. Perhaps all the fishermen living on the coast between the Hab and the Hingol bore the name of "Suari". There is no evidence that in language, or race, the primitive Fish-eaters of the Hingol region differed very much from their neighbours, the fishermen of Ora, though the cultural level of the Ora-people must have been higher as there the aristocracy and the merchant class were thoroughly hinduized [310]. In 325 B.C. the fishermen at Stobera were still at the level of the Stone Age, but some seventy years later in the times of emperor Aśoka they may have assimilated the Indian culture which meanwhile had spread westward thanks to the administration of the Maurya rulers [311]. So Plinius's note on the Cabirus, or Hab, river in the territory of the "Suari" may be supposed to hint at the fundamental racial and linguistic unity of the fishermen settled on the coastal strip of Baluchistan from the Hab westward to Cape Malan.

From Malana to Calyba. The confederacy of the Gedrosians and the Suari and the western boundary of the Mauryan empire

After having left Malana Nearchus sailed along the coast of the Fish-eaters [312] :

[308] Arrianus, *Indica*, 22, 8; see also p. 47.
[309] See p. 73-74, and p. 99-100.
[310] See p. 61-63.
[311] See p. 64-67.
[312] Arrianus, *Indica*, 26, 1-7.

"Next to the Oreitans, more inland, dwelt the Gadrosians, whose country Alexander and his army had much pains in traversing; indeed they suffered more than during all the rest of his expedition : all this I have related in my larger history. Below the Gadrosians, as you follow the actual coast, dwell the people called the Fish-eaters.

The fleet sailed past their country. On the first day they unmoored about the second watch, and put in at Bagisara; a distance along the coast of about 600 stades. There is a safe harbour there, and a village called Pasira, some 60 stades from the sea; the natives about it are called Pasireans [313].

The next day they weighed anchor earlier than usual and sailed round a promontory which ran far seaward, and was high, and precipitous. Then they dug wells; and obtained a good deal of water, but of poor quality; and for that day they rode at anchor, because there was heavy surf on the beach.

Next day they put in at Colta after a voyage of 200 stades.

Thence they departed at dawn, and after voyaging 600 stades anchored at Calyba. A village is on the shore, a few date-palms grew near it, and there were dates, still green, upon them. About 100 stades from the beach is an island called Carnine. There the villagers brought gifts to Nearchus, sheep and fishes; the mutton, he says, had a fishy taste, like the flesh of the sea-birds, since even the sheep feed on fish [314]; for there is no grass in the place".

Thanks to the identification of the Tomerus with the Hingol river and of Malana with the plain of Malan Tomaschek was able to identify the next ports and anchorages as well [315]. Bagisara is the harbour of Ormara, the promontory is Cape Mogal, and Colta lies somewhere near the bay to the west of Cape Mogal. Calyba, variant readings "Calama" and "Calima", corresponds to the inlet of Kalmat, which has preserved the ancient name. In the Arabian Sea to the south-west of the inlet of Kalmat lies the island of Astalu, or Haptalar. It is identical with the island of Carnine, which elsewhere Arrianus calls Nosala, no doubt a variant reading of Ptolemaeus's designation Asthala, which corresponds to the present name [316]. There were many legends current about this island, among which the one about the Nereid who dwelt there [317] :

"She showed much friendliness to any sailor who approached the island; but then turned him into a fish and threw him into the sea. The Sun then became irritated with the Nereid, and bade her leave the island; and she agreed to

[313] See p. 73, and *ibidem*, note 287.

[314] Though this detail belongs to the description of Calyba, Philostratus inserted it in his report on the Fish-eaters of Stobera on the Tomerus river, see p. 64.

[315] Tomaschek, *op. cit.*, p. 23; for the variant readings "Calama" and "Calima", see Chantraine, *op. cit.*, p. 59, and p. 59, note.

[316] Identified by Tomaschek, *op. cit.*, p. 24-26. Compare Ptolemaeus, *Geogr.* VI, 21, 6. See also p. 47, and *ibidem*, note 192.

[317] Arrianus, *Indica*, 31, 6-8; he calls the island "Nosala", see *ibidem*, 31, 2.

remove thence, but begged that the spell on her be removed; the Sun consented; and such human beings as she had turned into fishes he pitied, and turned them again from fishes into human beings, and hence arose the people called Fish-eaters, and so they descended to Alexander's day".

For that reason Plinius calls the island the Isle of the Sun, and also the Couch of the Nymphs [318] :

The list of day's voyages from the Tomerus river to Colta shows that this distance was 1100 stades :

From the Tomerus river to Malana	300 stades
From Malana to Bagisara	600 stades
From Bagisara to Colta	200 stades
Total :	1100 stades

It struck me that this figure is referred to by Plinius in the next passage [319] :

"Others place the Gedrusi and Sires as covering an area of 138 miles, and then the Fish-eating Oritae, who do not speak the Indian language but have one of their own, covering a space of 200 miles".

Plinius seems to have mixed up two different reports, an earlier one about the area of the Gedrosi and Sires being 138 miles = 1104 stades in length, and a later one about the Oritan coast-line reported to be 200 miles = 1600 stades in length.

The Sires and Gedrosi are obviously supposed to be the neighbours of the next tribe, the Oritae, and in this respect it is not too far-fetched to identify the "Sires" with the "Suari", or the Fish-eaters belonging to the settlement of Stobera on the Tomerus river. Their territory which they seemed to share with the Gedrosians stretched from the Hingol river westward to Colta near the western slope of the promontory called Cape Mogal. When turning the distance of 1100 Greek stades into Roman miles Plinius has rounded off the figure to 138 miles.

The area of the Oritae is reckoned at 1600 stades, that is to say the distance between the Hab river and the district called Malana so that *this area overlaps the above-mentioned one by 300 stades, viz. the distance between the Hingol river and Malana.*

In my opinion this inconsistency is due to Plinius's mixing up two documents belonging to different historical periods, the first report dating from c. 325 B.C. and the second belonging to the period of the Maurya ascendency.

[318] Plinius, *Nat. Hist.*, VI, 97; see also p. 73.

[319] Plinius, *Nat. Hist.*, VI, 95; for the complete text, see p. 65.

The earlier report refers to the allies of the Oritans who tried to check Alexander's advance at the defile of the Hingol valley [320] :

"then Alexander ... advanced towards the borders of the Gadrosians and the Oreitans, where it was reported that the approach was by a defile, and that the Gadrosians and Oreitans had joined together and were encamped at the mouth of the defile to check Alexander's approach".

I suppose that the "Suari", or "Sires", viz. the sept of Fish-eaters of Stobera on the Hingol river, and part of the Gedrosians were members of a political unit which extended from the Hingol river westward to Cape Mogal and Ormara. Within this area the "Suari" occupied the region between the Hingol and the Malan range. I have an inkling that during the Old Persian period the Hingol served as a boundary between two satrapies, Gedrosia and Arachosia. The plain of Malan and the area around present Hinglaj were supposed to be controlled by the satrap residing in the metropolis of Pura in proper Gedrosia, and the Oritan district was governed by the satrap residing in Kandahar [321].

According to the second report Malana, and *not* the Tomerus river is supposed to represent the boundary of the Oritan country and of India as well [322]. In my opinion this datum refers to the political situation established by the treaty between Seleucus I and Candragupta Maurya in c. 302 B.C. according to which Seleucus ceded to the Indian emperor the satrapies Parapamisadae, Aria, Arachosia, and Gedrosia [323]. I suppose that in this treaty the natural barrier of Cape Malan was considered to represent the boundary line between the Hellenistic kingdom of Seleucus I and the Indian empire of Candragupta. Indian predominance east of Cape Malan lasted for a century, and this can explain why some Alexander historians have inserted the anachronistic boundary of Cape Malan into their reports on Alexander's expedition [324]. The treaty brought the Sires/Suari of Stobera on the Hingol within the Indian empire in general, and within the Oritan district in particular, and for the next hundred years they remained in a position to acquire

[320] Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, VI, 22, 1.

[321] Pura in Gedrosia, see p. 100-101; Kandahar, see p. 9, and *ibidem*, note 45; see also p. 65.

[322] Malana was "the last point in the territory of the Oreitans", and "thence onward the natives are no longer Indians", see Arrianus, *Indica*, 25, 1-4 : complete text quoted at p. 77-78.

[323] See Eggermont, *Notes*, *I*, p. 56-58.

[324] See Eggermont, *Notes*, *I*, p. 58-66.

the cultural level of their neighbours in eastern Baluchistan who had been hinduized in an earlier period of history.

§ 4 An interlude on Ptolemaeus's seven branches of the Indus

According to Ptolemaeus the Indus parted into seven branches [325]:

"In the district of Syrastra:
in the so-called Gulf of Canthi: Canthi Roadstead;
the westernmost Indus outlet, called Sagapa;
the next one, called Sinthus;
the third, called Chrysus (= the Golden);
the fourth, called Chariphus;
the fifth, called Saparancus;
the sixth, called Sabalassa;
the seventh, called Lonibarae;
the town of Bardaxima;
the village of Syrastra;
the market-town of Monoglosson".

Ptolemaeus's thesis about the seven mouths of the Indus is a recent phenomenon. The only author who shares his opinion is the Skipper, who was, most probably, his contemporary [326]. The Alexander historians are aware of only *two* Indus branches [327]. The geographer Strabo quotes their opinion without any comment [328], and Plinius has handed down that Patalene was an island of triangular shape, from which one is justified to infer that the Indus was supposed to part into only two branches [329].

The thesis of the seven mouths reminds one of the famous seven mouths of the Nile, well-known in antiquity. In fact Nearchus used to compare the Indus with the Nile [330]:

"Nearchus says that the question formerly raised in reference to the Nile as to the source of its floodings is answered by the Indian rivers, because it is the result of summer rains [331]; but that when Alexander saw crocodiles in the Hydaspes and Aegyptian beans in the Acesines, he thought he had found the sources of the Nile and thought of preparing a fleet for an expedition to Aegypt, thinking that he would sail as far as there by this river, but he learned a little later that he could not accomplish what he had hoped".

[325] Ptolemaeus, *Geogr.*, VII, 1, 2-3.
[326] See p. 39, note 164, and p. 34, note 147; opinion of the Skipper in *Periplus*, 38.
[327] Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, VI, 18, 2, and idem, *Indica*, 2, 5.
[328] Strabo, *Geogr.*, XV, 1, 33.
[329] Plinius, *Nat. Hist.*, VI, 80.
[330] Strabo, *Geogr.*, XV, 1, 25.
[331] The inundations of the Nile continue from the middle of June until the middle

Quoting Nearchus Arrianus relates[332]:

"The western part of India is bounded by the river Indus right down to the ocean, where the river runs out by two mouths, not joined together as are the five mouths of the Ister; but like those of the Nile, by which the Egyptian delta is formed; thus also the Indian delta is formed by the river Indus, not less than the Egyptian".

The postulate of symmetry played an important part in early Ionian philosophy, and Herodotus reckoned it a legitimate and valuable instrument of geographical research [333]. He denied the existence of a Hyperborean people living "beyond the north wind", because in his opinion there was none "beyond the south", and he used the known upper sections of the course of the Ister, or Danube, as evidence for the unexplored sections of the Nile. [334].

In this connection I suppose that it was the postulate of symmetry which actually caused Ptolemaeus to supply the *Ganges* river with five mouths, as its European counterpart, the *Danube*, was supposed to have five outlets. In the same way he regarded the *Indus* as the replica of the *Nile* so that it ought to get seven mouths as well.

If so, the question arises from which source Ptolemaeus had got the designations of these seven mouths. In my opinion he had consulted the log-book of Nearchus, or rather the stray literature based on this log-book. I have proven that the name of the "westernmost Indus outlet, called Sagapa" is identical with the region, called Sangada, which was situated opposite to the island of Barace after which Barbaricum, the Indo-Hellenistic market-town, had got its name. This Indus branch was certainly *not* the westernmost one. It coincided with the so-called second branch, the Sinthus, which in its turn was the middle branch of the Indus in the first century B.C. [335].

of October, which period corresponds more or less with the rainy period in India, see Capelle, *op. cit.*, p. 317-361.

[332] Arrianus, *Indica*, 2, 6; though Arrianus does not mention Nearchus as a source, we may draw this conclusion from Strabo's statement, Strabo, *Geogr.*, XV, 1, 16 : "Nearchus, speaking of the alluvia deposited by the rivers, gives the following examples ... This is the same as the statement made by Herodotus in regard to the Nile and the land that borders thereon, that the land is the gift of the Nile; and for this reason Nearchus rightly says that the Nile was also called by the same name as the land Aegyptus".

[333] Myres, *op. cit.*, p. 608-609 : *Inferences from Symmetry.*

[334] Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 98-100.

[335] See p. 37-40.

Likewise I have shown that the fourth outlet of the Indus, the Chariphus, did not belong to the Indus river basin at all. In fact, the river is identical with the Arabis, or Hab river. In Arrianus's opinion the territory of the "Arabeans", or Ābhīras, coincided with the coastal region of the Indus delta, and from this notion arose the error that the Hab river should be reckoned a branch of the Indus [336]. For the rest the name of the "Chariphus" belongs to the class of variant readings handed down by Arrianus (Arabis), Curtius (Arabus), and Strabo (Arbis). Ptolemaeus has separated the name of the river from the name of the tribe after which it was called, viz. "Aberia", or "district of the Aberians". Obviously he had got the name of the tribe from a different source, viz. the one from which Diodorus had borrowed the variant readings Abritae, Habritae, and Ambritae. To the latter class likewise belongs the best reading known, viz. the "Cabirus" river [337].

The identification of the Chariphus with the Hab supplies the key to the identity of the seventh river mouth, the "Lonibarae", *ΛΩΝΙΒΑΡΑΙ*, variant readings: Lonibarei, *ΛΩΝΙΒΑΡΕΙ ;* Lonibares, *ΛΩΝΙΒΑΡΗΣ*. As in majuscule script the *Λ* is liable to be confused with the *Δ*, the original reading may have been "Donibares", which is closely related to the name of the Tomerus, *ΤΟΜΗΡΟΣ*, variant readings : Tonberus (Plinius), Tubero (Mela) [338]. As the district of the Oritans from the Hab river westward to Cape Malan was part of India in the times of Maurya rule, it seems that there arose the geographical fiction that the Hingol river belonged to the Indus river basin, and accordingly the Alexander romance was adapted to this notion. When reconstructing the geography of India, Ptolemaeus must have borrowed part of the data from this unreliable source. In this way he came to regard the outlets of the Hingol, or Tomerus, and of the Hab, or Arabis, as mouths of the respective Indus branches.

The fifth and sixth Indus outlets are anchorages mentioned in Nearchus's log-book. The variant readings of Saparancus, *ΣΑΠΑΡΑΓΚΟΣ*, the fifth Indus mouth, are Sarapa, *ΣΑΡΑΠΑ*, Sapara *ΣΑΠΑΡΑ*, and Saparages, *ΣΑΠΑΡΑΓΗΣ* [339]. The variant reading Sarapa *ΣΑΡΑΠΑ*, is closely related to Saranga, *ΣΑΡΑΓΓΑ*, Nearchus's, fourth anchorage after he had left the mouth of the easternmost Indus

[336] See p. 48.

[337] See p. 79-80.

[338] Variant readings of "Lonibarae" in Renou, *op. cit.*, p. 3, note 1; other variant readings, see p. 65, and *ibidem*, note 253.

[339] Renou, *op. cit.*, p. 2, note 15.

branch. The relation is obvious, because in majuscule script the *Π* is liable to be confused with the double *ΓΓ*. The reason why Ptolemaeus turned the anchorage into an outlet of the Indus may have been that Nearchus found water about eight stades from the beach [340].

If the fifth Indus mouth is identical with Nearchus's anchorage at Saranga, it is probable that the sixth Indus mouth will be identical with Nearchus's next anchorage at Sacala, *ΣΑΚΑΛΑ*.

In Ptolemaeus's strings of geographical names pairs of successive stages are common [341]. In fact, the designation of the sixth outlet, called Sabalassa, *ΣΑΒΑΛΑΣΣΑ* is not unlike Sacala, *ΣΑΚΑΛΑ*. For the rest Sacala was "a desert spot", situated on the plateau of Karachi, so that one is tempted to conclude that Ptolemaeus had at his disposal only a list of anchorages which was not provided with any details [342]. From the bare name he must have drawn the *argumentum ex silentio* that an outlet of the Indus was hinted at.

The only river mouth which remains to be identified is the third, the Golden one, or Chrysus. It sounds like a legendary name. Perhaps Ptolemaeus had borrowed it from the Alexander romance. On the other hand it reminds of Coreëstis situated on the easternmost branch of the Indus. The region lay not very far from the outlet, as it appears from Arrianus's report [343].

"Thence they sailed 20 stades and anchored at Coreëstis, still on the river. Thence they started again and sailed not so very far, for they saw a reef at this outlet of the river Indus, and the waves were breaking violently on the shore, and the shore itself was very rough. But where there was a softer part of the reef, they dug a channel, 5 stades long, and brought the ships down it, when the flood tide came up from the sea".

In this connection I am inclined, with some diffidence though, to identify the Golden Indus branch with the easternmost one along which Nearchus sailed at the start of his voyage.

From the seven Indus branches only four belong to the Indus river basin. The seventh branch, the Lonibarae, flows through Baluchistan, while the fourth, the Chariphus, and the sixth, the Sabalassa, belong to the plateau of Karachi, provided that the latter existed at all.

[340] Arrianus, *Indica*, 22, 3; see p. 45.

[341] See p. XXII, and *ibidem*, note 1.

[342] Arrianus, *Indica*, 22, 4 : "Sacala, a desert spot"; Plinius published such a list of bare names, see p. 72-73.

[343] Arrianus, *Indica*, 21, 4-5; see also p. 33.

As, moreover, the first and the second branches are identical, there remain only three branches in the Delta : the Chrysus, or Golden one, the name of which is derived from Coreëstis; the Sinthus = Sangada = Sagapa; the Saranga = Sarapa = Saparancus. The Golden branch was the easternmost one. Nearchus found it difficult to find its outlet, and in the first century B.C. it had got silted up, for at that time the only navigable branch was the middle one, the Sagapa *alias* Sinthus. There lay the market-town Barbaricum, founded by Nearchus, who had called it Alexander's harbour, and its port was famous in the times of the early Roman empire. Ptolemaeus considered the Sagapa to represent the westernmost branch of the Indus. He was wrong, but perhaps he had concluded this detail from the many legends about Alexander which were current in connection with this harbour. At a slight distance from it one could see the so-called Altars of Alexander erected on the top of a promontory marking the entrance to the dangerous mangrove swamps lining the Gulf of Barace to the east of Barbaricum [344]. Moreover, popular authors like Diodorus and Curtius did not distinguish the westernmost Indus branch from the easternmost one. In fact, they focussed all the events connected with Alexander's reconnaissances in the Indus delta on the middle branch, which was well-known in the times of the early Roman empire [345].

The third outlet, the Saparancus (the fifth in Ptolemaeus's enumeration), viz. Nearchus's anchorage called Saranga, was no outlet at all in 325 B.C. At 8 stades, viz. at nearly one mile's, distance from the beach Nearchus found water. Perhaps he had found a branch of the Indus flowing parallel to the coast. If so, it may have been the same branch which flowed behind the coast of Domai at 20 stades', or 2,3 miles', distance from the beach [346]. If this branch actually existed, it must have found its outlet to the west of Nearchus's anchorage at Saranga = Saparancus, and this mouth must have remained unknown to him as the next anchorage was Sacala on the coast of the Karachi plateau. One is tempted to identify this hypothetical branch with the westernmost one along which Alexander had sailed during his first reconnaissance. However, that branch is supposed to have flowed through the interior of the delta at a great distance from the shore. Therefore I am forced to conclude that the memory of this branch has got irretrievably lost.

[344] See p. 45, and p. 135-137.

[345] See p. 32, and p. 136.

[346] Arrianus, *Indica*, 22, 2; see also p. 45.

Most probably the bed had dried up in the course of the third century B.C., because the main course of the Indus had shifted. It is this major shift which must have brought the port of Barbaricum into prominence.

To the enumeration of the Indus mouths Ptolemaeus joins the names of a few ports. Canthi Roadstead was Nearchus's naval base from which he started his voyage. It was situated on the easternmost Indus branch near a vast salt lake which is supposed to be identical with Samara lake. In its turn this lake is identical with Ptolemaeus's Gulf of Canthi [347]. The village of Syrastra was situated on the shore of the Arabian Sea in Kathiawar, which in Sanskrit is called Surāṣṭra. The present province of Soraṭha has preserved the name [348]. I cannot identify the market-town of Monoglosson, but the town of Bardaxima may be traced.

As the town of Bardaxima comes next after the name of the seventh Indus branch, called Lonibarae, we may apply the Law of the strings of geographical names consisting of short pairs and triads of toponyms that are traditionally linked up the one with the other. The series Lonibarae — Bardaxima may be supposed to represent two successive anchorages listed in Nearchus's log-book, and as Lonibarae is identical with the Tomerus, or Hingol, river, we may compare this pair of toponyms with the series Cocala — Tomerus river mentioned by Arrianus. Cocala is known to represent a variant reading of ORITANA, the Doric form of Attic ORITENE, viz. "the district of the Oritae". In my opinion the name of Ptolemaeus's "Bardaxima" is an eparchy name, derived from an earlier variant reading "Bardaxine", as in majuscule script the *M* and the *N* can easily be confused. It belongs to the type of eparchy names ending in *-ene (HNH)*, the *i* of the ending *-ine (INH)* being due to the iotacism of the Hellenistic pronunciation. "Bardaxima" may, therefore, be identified with "Cocala" as well as with "Argenuus" mentioned by Plinius in connection with Alexandria in the Oritan country. The common ancestor of both the readings is ORITENE [349].

To conclude with I should like to state that Ptolemaeus has made use of two widely diverging sources, viz. a list of Nearchus's anchorages based on the actual log-book, and the unreliable legendary geography set forth in some Alexander romance.

[347] See p. 33-37.

[348] See p. 35.

[349] See p. 73; for the rest I do not regard the evidence as conclusive, for "Bardaxima" may just as well represent "Barbaricum" on the island of "Barace", see p. 45.

§ 5. Alexander's retreat from India

A long time ago Alexander had planned the general outline of his retreat from India. The second division under the command of general Craterus was in Arachosia by now, and it was high time Alexander himself went back to Persia. At first he had considered to correlate the advance of his own division with Nearchus's voyage by sea, but soon he had noticed that Nearchus had to stay a couple of months until the light land breezes could facilitate the coasting voyage. Consequently he left Nearchus behind at the naval base of Canthi on the estuary of the eastern-most Indus branch. By this decision he risked the safety of the fleet. Later Nearchus did not fail to report that "the barbarians took courage when the king departed and acted like freemen" [350]. Nevertheless Alexander continued supplying the fleet with provisions and water as much as possible. Even when he was forced to turn inland to the Gedrosian desert, he did send relief expeditions to the fleet. Two such-like expeditions are actually mentioned in Arrianus's account [351].

Arrianus's account of Alexander's invasion of Oritene

The three main authors, Arrianus, Diodorus and Curtius, are in entire agreement as to their dividing their accounts into two sections, viz. a survey of the entire action, and next to it a detailed account of the same campaign from Patala down to the western border of the Oritan country. As their reports are individual excerpts of an original more extensive one they complete each other very well. As usual Arrianus's account is the best, Curtius supplies interesting figures on the lengths of the day's marches, and Diodorus gives details about Alexandria in Oritene.

The first section of Arrianus's version is as follows [352] :

"Nearchus, then, the admiral of the fleet, awaited the season for the voyage. But Alexander leaving Pattala advanced with his entire force as far as the river Arabius; and thence, taking with him half the bodyguards and the archers and the brigades of the Companions, as they were called, the special squadron of the Companions' cavalry, and a squadron from each cavalry regiment, together with all the mounted archers, turned towards the ocean, keeping

[350] Strabo, *Geogr.*, XV, 2, 5.

[351] Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, VI, 23, 2-3 : expedition under the command of Thoas; *ibidem*, VI, 23, 4 : second expedition, which was unsuccessful.

[352] Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, VI, 21, 3.

it on his left, in order to dig wells, so that there might be plenty of water for the army which was sailing along the coast, and also with the intention of making a surprise attack on the Oreitans, the Indian tribe in these parts, who had long been independent, since they had failed to make friendly overtures to Alexander and his troops. Hephaestion was in command of such part of the army as Alexander had left behind".

The information about Alexander's turning towards the ocean while keeping it on his left, refers to Alexander's invasion of Oritene after he had crossed the Hab river. The tactics involved that Hephaestion with the reserve troops remained at the Hab to cover the attack which was carried into effect by the light troops under the command of Alexander. Here Arrianus's survey ends, but Diodorus and Curtius continue it by mentioning the surrender of the Gedrosians on the western border of the Oritan country [353].

Then follows the detailed story of the campaign [354] :

"The Arabitae, however, also an independent tribe of the Indians who dwell about the river Arabius, thinking they were no match for Alexander, and yet not wishing to surrender, when they learned that Alexander was approaching, fled into the desert. Alexander, however, crossed the river Arabius, a narrow river with a small stream, *traversed a considerable part of the desert by night*, and at dawn was close to the inhabited region. Here he ordered his infantry to follow in marching order, but the cavalry he took with him and divided into squadrons, that they might cover the greatest extent of country, and thus invaded the territory of the Oreitans. Such of them as offered resistance were cut down by the cavalry, and many were captured alive.

For the time being, then, Alexander encamped by a small stream; but on being joined by Hephaestion and his troops, he advanced further. Then arriving at a village which was the largest village of the Oreitans, called Rambacia, he was impressed with the position, and felt that a city founded there would become great and prosperous".

Stein has conclusively identified the desert indicated in the line printed in italics. It is the barren much-broken plateau which the present road from Karachi passes for a distance of some 20 miles between the Hab river and the flat and potentially fertile ground by the coast south-east of Sonmiani, as far as the station of Naka Kharari [355]. The distance may be said to correspond to the 200 stades' distance between the mouth of the Hab river and the anchorage of Pagala mentioned in Nearchus's log-book [356]. Two hundred stades are about 23 miles. Therefore, we

[353] Diodorus, *Bibl. Hist.*, XVII, 105, 3-5; Curtius, *Hist. Alex.*, IX, 10, 8-10.
[354] Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, VI, 21, 4-5.
[355] Stein, *Tour Las Bela*, p. 213-124.
[356] See p. 69-70.

may suppose that Alexander launched his actual attack from Naka Kharari. Diodorus and Curtius have handed down the names of the generals who commanded the squadrons into which Alexander had divided the cavalry. Ptolemaeus's squadron rode parallel to the coast-line of the Arabian Sea, Alexander followed the foot-hills of the upper country, and Leonnatus advanced in the centre between them [357]. In Stein's opinion the small river where the troops rallied after the attack was over must have been situated near the Siranda lake [358].

When Hephaestion and the rear-guard had equally joined the advance-guard, the entire army moved on to Rambacia the location of which remains to be established. No actual fighting is mentioned in that region although Rambacia must have been the main centre of the Oritan power. Then Alexander started occupying the remaining portion of the Oritan country [359] :

"Thereupon he left Hephaestion behind [360], but he himself, taking with him again half the bodyguards and the Agrianes [361], the special squadron of the cavalry, and the mounted archers, advanced towards the borders of the Gadrosians and the Oreitans, where it was reported that the Gadrosians and Oreitans had joined together and were encamped at the mouth of the defile to check Alexander's approach. They were, in fact, arrayed there; but when news was brought that he was nearing them, the greater part of them fled from the defile, deserting their post; but the chiefs of the Oreitans came to Alexander surrendering themselves and their nation.

These he commanded to call together the bulk of the Oreitans and send them home, with the assurance that they would suffer no harm; as satrap over them he appointed Apollophanes. Together with him he left behind Leonnatus, the officer of the bodyguard, in Ora [362], with all the Agrianes, some of the archers

[357] See p. 94 and 102.

[358] Stein, *Tour Las Bela*, p. 214 : "the Siranda lake which is skirted by the direct route leading to Bela and the best cultivated portion of the Las Bela territory. It receives most of the terminal drainage of the Porali and its lower tributaries from the hills".

[359] Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, VI, 21, 5-VI, 22, 3.

[360] Robson's translation "He left behind Hephaestion, therefore, to attend to this" (see Robson, *op. cit.*, II, p. 169) is wrong because the sentence is correlated with the next one by means of the particles μὲν ...δὲ. The expression ἐπὶ τούτοις does not bear on the verbal form ὑπελείπετο, but it means "thereupon, immediately thereafter"; this meaning of ἐπὶ + dative occurs in Homerus, *Ilias*, VII, 163, τῷ δ' ἐπὶ, and in later Greek this adverbial meaning is quite usual. See also Tarn, *Alexander*, II, p. 251, note 6.

[361] See p. 9, note 47.

[362] I prefer Tarn's translation "in Ora" to the one by Robson ("in the country of the Orians"), see p. 99.

and of the cavalry, and a considerable body besides of Greek mercenary infantry and cavalry; Leonnatus was to await the fleet, until it made its voyage past this district, to build the city, and to put everything in good order in the country of the Oreitans, so that they might more diligently obey their satrap. Then he himself with the larger part of his army, for Hephaestion had arrived, with the party which had been left behind, proceeded towards the Gadrosians, through country which for the most part was desert".

The reconstruction of Alexander's line of march from the Siranda lake to Rambacia and from there to the defile at the borders of the Oritans and the Gedrosians depends on the solution of two questions, viz. where Rambacia was situated, and at which defile the armies of the Oritans and Gedrosians tried to check Alexander's advance. In this respect it is worth-while studying somewhat closer Diodorus's version of Alexander's campaign in Oritene.

Diodorus's account of Alexander's invasion of Oritene and the geographical location and identification of Rambacia

Like Arrianus Diodorus has divided his account into two sections, a survey of the whole campaign, and a detailed report. The first section runs as follows [363] :

"Alexander burnt such of his boats as were damaged. The rest of the fleet he turned over to Nearchus and others of his Friends with orders to coast along through the Ocean and, having observed everything, to meet him at the mouth of the Euphrates River.

He set his army in motion and traversed much territory and defeated his opponents, while those who submitted were received kindly. He brought over without fighting the so-called Abritae [364] and the tribesmen of Cedrosia".

One gets the impression that Diodorus had borrowed the first and second sections from different sources, because the last line of the survey does not link up with the first line of the detailed report. Arrianus seems to have struggled with the same problem, but as he was an excellent writer he has managed to smooth down the difficulties by turning the first section into an introduction. Anyway the next section reads as follows [365] :

[363] Diodorus, *Bibl. Hist.*, XVII, 104, 3-4.

[364] Welles, *op. cit.*, VIII, p. 420, note : variant readings : "Habritae, Ambritae". With some diffidence though, I have adopted the usual identification of the "Abritae" with Curtius's "Arabitae", and Arrianus's "Arabeis", see p. 49, and Welles, *op. cit.*, VIII, p. 421, note. 4 One cannot exclude the possibility of their identity with the Oritans, see p. 104 on Curtius's "Aboritae", and Plinius's "Abortae".

[365] Diodorus, *Bibl. Hist.*, XVII, 104, 5-105,1.

"Then he marched through a long stretch of waterless and largely desert country as far as the frontiers of Neoteris [366]. There he divided his force into three divisions and named as commander of the first, Ptolemy, and of the second, Leonnatus. He ordered Ptolemy to plunder the district by the sea and Leonnatus to lay waste the interior. He himself devastated the upper country and the hills. At one and the same time much country was wasted, so that every spot was filled with fire and devastation and great slaughter. The soldiers soon became possessed of much booty, and the number of persons killed reached many myriads. By the destruction of these tribes, all their neighbours were terrified and submitted to the king.

Alexander wanted to found a city by the sea. He found a sheltered harbour with suitable terrain near by, and established there a city called Alexandria.

He advanced into the country of the Neoritae [367] through the passes and quickly brought it all into submission".

From the evidence supplied by the variant readings Neoteris instead of Oritene, and Neoritae instead of Oritae it follows that Diodorus has used Clitarchus as a source [368]. Moreover Tarn has shown that the note on the many myriads killed is a characteristic feature of Clitarchus's extravagant style [369]. As I have said a little while back, the passage printed in italics is closely related to the note on the fourth Alexander town in Stephanus's list of 18 Alexandrias :

"The fourth (Alexandria) is the town of the Nearti, a people of the Fish-eaters, on the sea-route to India".

I have equally shown that this town is identical with "Alexandria apud ORIGALA", mentioned by Julius Valerius in a list of 12 Alexandrias, and that on the other hand ORIGALA corresponds to COCALA, the anchorage where Nearchus met Leonnatus, who had been ordered by Alexander to found an Alexandria mentioned by Plinius in the passage :

"Alexandria, founded in the territory of this race by Leonnatus at the order of Alexander; Argenuus, with a serviceable harbour".

The serviceable harbour of Argenuus must be identical with the "sheltered harbour with suitable terrain near by" mentioned by Diodorus in connection with the foundation of Alexandria during Alexander's campaign in the Oritan country. I have proven that ARGENUUS is a

[366] I replaced Welles's correction "Oreitis" by "Neoteris", which is the reading of the manuscripts, see Welles, *op. cit.*, VIII, p. 420.

[367] Welles's reading "Oreitae" is a correction. I replaced it by "Neoritae", which is the reading of the manuscripts.

[368] Tarn, *Alexander*, II, p. 241, and *ibidem*, note 3; details about Tarn's conclusion at p. 61-62.

[369] Tarn, *Alexander*, II, p. 253, note 1. See also p. 4, note 28.

variant reading of ORITENE, and that ORIGALA as well as COCALA are derived from an original ORITANA, the Doric form of Attic ORITENE. This eparchy name was framed after the name of the ORITAE, who in their turn had borrowed their name from the place name of ORA. The true name of the fishing-port where Nearchus anchored, and near which Leonnatus founded "Alexandria" must, therefore, have been ORA, viz. it was the Greek pronunciation of some native designation.

According to Arrianus Alexander arrived at a settlement which was the largest village of the Oreitans, and which was called Rambacia. He was impressed with the position, and he "felt that a city founded there would become great and prosperous" [370]. Arrianus does not say that this city had to be called Alexandria, but the wording reminds strongly of Arrianus's description of the foundation of Alexandria on the Tanaïs, or Khojand on the Syr Darya [371] :

> "He himself was minded to found a city on the Tanais, and to call it after his own name ... He felt also that such a city would become great both from the number of settlers and the splendour of its name".

As, moreover, only one Alexandria is reported to have been founded in the Oritan district, I take it for certain that Arrianus's "Alexandria near Rambacia" corresponds to the Alexandria near "Ora" mentioned by the other sources.

"Rambacia" means "the region occupied by the Rambaci", and the "Rambaci" are "the inhabitants of Ramba". Though it may seem a far cry from Ramba to Ora, these names must be considered to designate one and the same fishing-port, viz. the one near which Leonnatus founded Alexandria. Both the names may represent independent readings of Greek transcriptions of a native designation which the Greek and Macedonian sailors and soldiers found very hard to pronounce [372].

Alexander's route in the Oritan country

Leaning heavily on Diodorus's information that Alexander "himself devastated the upper country and the hills", Sir Aurel Stein suggested that Alexander had marched parallel to the foot-hills of the Mora range northward from the Siranda lake to the Welpat tract near Bela, and in this connection he stated [373] :

[370] See p. 91.
[371] Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, IV, 1, 3-4.
[372] On the native name, see p. 157-159.
[373] Stein, *Tour Las Bela*, p. 215.

"It follows from what has been explained above that the site of the village of Rambacia which Alexander selected for founding a city, has to be looked for in Welpat and with some probability in the vicinity of the present Bela".

In this connection he drew one more conclusion concerning the identification of the defile where Alexander met the allied armies of the Oritans and Gedrosians [374] :

"By the gorges at the mouth of which the combined tribes were arrayed to stop it [375], is meant the pass to which the present main caravan route, connecting Las Bela with the Jhau tract and thence with the eastern extremity of Makran, ascends through winding gorges from the alluvial plain west of Bela".

However, Stein's reconstruction of Alexander's line of march falls to pieces owing to an initial mistake. I have shown that Rambacia is identical with "Ora", which was a port on the Arabian Sea. Alexandria itself was situated close by the port in the coastal area between the Miani Hor lagoon, and the Phor river. Tomaschek has located the port at the mouth of the Phor [376], and I myself have suggested to identify Alexandria with Khandewari near the westernmost end of the Miani Hor [377]. So there is not the slightest evidence in support of Stein's view. It is true, from Naka Kharari up to the region of the Siranda lake Alexander's cavalry squadron must have ridden along the foot-hills of the Mora range, but then the entire army turned to the west, and marched along the shore of the Miani Hor to Khandewari and to the outlet of the Phor river. *One must keep in mind that the coast-line represented the general line of action. This was part of Alexander's strategic conception* [378]. After all we have to turn back to Holdich's earlier hypothesis [379]. Stein criticized Holdich's identification of Rambacia with Khaira Kot, viz. Kaiara Kot on Stein's map, but this conjecture is connected with Holdich's assumption that in 325 B.C. the sea extended much farther north than at present, at least as far as Liari, more than 20 miles north of Sonmiani [380]. However, Holdich's basic conception was correct. Alexan-

[374] Stein, *Tour Las Bela*, p. 216.

[375] viz. Alexander's advance.

[376] See p. 74.

[377] See p. 76-77.

[378] See p. 90, and *ibidem*, note 351.

[379] See p. 69, and *ibidem*, note 268.

[380] Stein, *Tour Las Bela*, p. 214, note 1; during his tour Stein found abundant pottery debris covering the surface of the site of Khaira Kot, which proved occupation during medieval times. On the other hand he found nothing whatever to support the location of the Oritan Alexandria at Khaira Kot, see Stein, *Tour Las Bela*, p. 200-201.

der must have marched along the shore of the Arabian Sea to the outlet of the Hingol river. When he arrived in the region of the Phor river, he was well on the way in that direction. There is evidence in support of Holdich's view. Though Arrianus restricts himself to stating that Alexander advanced towards the borders of the Gedrosians and the Oritans, where it was reported that the approach was by a defile, Diodorus makes it clear that he marched near the sea [381] :

"Next Alexander advanced to [382] Gedrosia, marching near the sea, and encountered a people unfriendly and utterly brutish. Those who dwelt here let the nails of their fingers and toes grow from birth to old age".

Curtius's description corroborates Diodorus's report. After having told what happened in Oritene Curtius continues [383] :

"From there he came to the Indi who dwell along the sea-coast. They occupy a great extent of country which is barren and desolate, and mingle in no kind of intercourse even with their neighbours. Their very solitude has made quite wild their dispositions, which are savage even by nature; their nails grow long, never having been cut, their hair is shaggy and unshorn. They adorn their huts with shells and other things thrown up by the sea. Clad in the skins of wild beasts, they feed upon fish cured in the sun, and also on the flesh of larger animals cast up by the sea".

Obviously the Fish-eaters are described, and as the first specimens of this race are mentioned by Nearchus in connection with his landing at the outlet of the Hingol river, I conclude that Alexander met them on the same spot, viz. the borders of the Oritans and the Gedrosians at the Hingol river. I have shown that in c. 325 B.C. there existed a political unit consisting partly of Gedrosians and partly of Fish-eaters belonging to the sept of the "Suari" in this region. Their territory stretched from the Hingol river westward to the region of Ormara. The centre of the Suari was the settlement of Stobera on the Hingol. In fact, all these names : Suari, Stobera, and Tomerus river, are variant readings of the the original Greek transcription of their native designation. Most probably these Fish-eaters did not differ from their neighbours, the Oritan fishermen, in race or language, but the cultural level of the latter

[381] Diodorus, *Bibl. Hist.*, XVII, 105, 3-4.

[382] The Greek text runs : *Μετὰ δὲ ταῦθ' ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος προῆγεν ἐπὶ τὴν Κεδρωσίαν.* Welles, *op. cit.*, VIII, p. 423, translates : "Next Alexander advanced *into* Cedrosia", which is wrong. Alexander did not march *into*, but *to* Gedrosia. The preposition *ἐπι* + accusative denotes the direction, and the approach towards some place, *cf.* J. Humbert, *Syntaxe Grecque*, Paris, 1945, p. 305.

[383] Curtius, *Hist. Alex.*, IX, 10, 8-10.

tribe was higher as they were largely hinduized. When from c. 302 B.C. the Maurya dynasty extended its power up to the Malan range, the Suari of the Malan plain were united with their Oritan kinsmen, and in the next hundred years they could avail themselves of the opportunity to absorb the Hindu civilization [384].

As in Alexander's times the borders of the Oritans and Gedrosians coincided more or less with the Hingol river, *the defile where the combined armies of the Gedrosians and Oritans faced Alexander must be identical with the entrance to the Hingol valley.*

It is certain that Alexander must have marched through the Kolwa tract and the Kech valley later on [385], but evidence is lacking as to his line of march between the entrance to the Hingol valley and the Kolwa tract, unless Arrianus's next note on the subject would be reckoned as such [386] :

"From there [387] Alexander went on through the country of the Gadrosians by a route both difficult and lacking in supplies; in especial, the army often found no water; but they were obliged to traverse a considerable part of the country by night, and at a greater distance from the sea".

In Holdich's opinion Alexander had marched inland through the Hingol and Parkini valleys [388]. Stein actually saw the Parkini valley, and he has reported that though it offers throughout some grazing for camels and flocks as well as plentiful water for men and animals to drink, he did not meet any graziers' camps in it nor any evidence of its having ever seen permanent occupation. He concluded that Alexander could never have been able to get sufficient supplies for the army in the Parkini region [389]. Stein's point of view was influenced a great deal by

[384] See p. 80-84, and p. 62-67.

[385] See p. 68-69.

[386] Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, VI, 23, 1.

[387] This sentence comes next to an insertion about trees and flowers growing in the desert. Arrianus borrowed this insertion from Aristobulus, see scheme at p. 117. The insertion is preceded by the account of Alexander's victory at the defile where the allied Gedrosians and Oritans faced his army. The latter account ends in the sentence : "Then he himself with the larger part of his army, for Hephaestion had arrived, with the party which had been left behind, proceeded towards the Gadrosians, through country which for the most part was desert". Therefore, one gets the impression that the desert corresponds with the tract of land in between the outlet of the Hingol and the entrance to the Kolwa tract, or proper Gedrosia. However, the insertion deals a.o. with mangrove trees, see p. 118 and 122. Part of the problem will be solved in the next chapter.

[388] See p. 69, and *ibidem*, note 268.

[389] Stein, *Tour Las Bela*, p. 208.

his opinion that Alexander had got into the Kolwa tract by the caravan trail leading from Bela by Jhau on the Nal river to Awaran. Anyway Alexander could have marched as well through the valleys of the Hingol and Nal rivers up to Jhau after which he might have followed the trail from Jhau to Awaran all the same. For the rest I prefer leaving this part of the problem undecided.

Leonnatus and the revolt of the Oritans

Arrianus has handed down that after the surrender of the Oritans at the defile on the borders of the Oritans and the Gedrosians, viz. at the entrance to the Hingol valley, Alexander appointed Apollophanes satrap over them [390] :

"Together with him he left behind Leonnatus, the officer of the bodyguard, in Ora, with all the Agrianes, some of the archers and of the cavalry, and a considerable body besides of Greek mercenary infantry and cavalry; Leonnatus was to await the fleet, until it made its voyage past this district, to build the city, and to put everything in good order in the country of the Oreitans, so that they might more diligently obey their satrap".

Tarn was first to have observed that ἐν Ὥροις means "in Ora", viz. the town of Ora, and *not* the Oritan country [391] :

"If it were meant for 'in the Oreitan country' it would have had to be ἐν τοῖς Ὥροις = 'among the Ori'".

Indeed, Tarn came quite near discovering the identification of Ora with Rambacia, but, unfortunately, he went astray because he relied upon Stein's identification of Rambacia with Bela, c.q. some place near Bela. From the map joined to Tarn's book on Alexander the Great one can infer that he supposed that Alexander went straight to the west after having left Patala, crossed the Kirthar range, traversed the Hab valley, crossed the Pab and Mora ranges — which is a most improbable military manoeuver in my opinion —, occupied Bela, and finally arrived at some spot near Jhau on the Nal river. In connection with this reconstruction of Alexander's route he was of the opinion that Ora was a separate town situated near some defile between Bela and Jhau. Apart from his relying on Stein's hypothesis the basic fact on which Tarn

[390] See p. 92.

[391] Tarn, *Alexander*, II, p. 251, note 8. Tarn noticed that according to Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, VI, 24, 1, Alexander marched in 60 days from Ora, ἐξ Ὥρων, to Pura, the metropolis of Gedrosia. As Pura is a town, Ora must be expected to be a town as well.

built his reconstruction was that after the surrender of the Oritans at the defile Alexander "left behind Leonnatus, the officer of the bodyguard, in Ora". However, by itself the text does not prove that the town of Ora was situated near the defile. One can infer from the wording of the text only that Leonnatus was left behind in some town called Ora. In short, the only town near the defile was Stobera, the settlement of the sept of Fish-eaters, called the "Suari", who together with their allies, the Gedrosians and the Oritans, may be supposed to have tried to blocade the entrance to the Hingol valley near the outlet of the river. However, what remains of Tarn's theory is his important discovery that "Ora" was the traditional Greek name of the town where Leonnatus's army was stationed.

There, at Ora, Nearchus was informed that Leonnatus had gained a decisive victory over the Oritans : 6000 enemies were reported killed, whereas on the Macedonian side only 15 horsemen, a few foot-soldiers, and the satrap Apollophanes himself had died in action [392]. The report of Diodorus on this battle is less optimistic [393] :

"Some of the Oreitae attacked Leonnatus's division and inflicted severe losses, after which they escaped to their own territory".

The revolt of the Oritans after Alexander's departure gives additional evidence to Alexander's having selected the coastal route as a line of march. Obviously, he had failed to occupy the whole Porali plain up to the apex at Bela. Inland the Oritans were still independent, and as soon as Alexander's army had marched off, they had seized the opportunity to recover the town of Ora *alias* Ramba in the coastal area.

According to Curtius Alexander did not receive Leonnatus's report until two months later, when he arrived at the Gedrosian capital Pura [394] :

"Here he received a letter from Leonnatus, saying that he had fought with 8000 infantry and 400 cavalry of the Noritae [395] with successful result. From Craterus also came the news that he had defeated Ozines and Zariaspes, Persian nobles who were attempting a revolt, and that they were in fetters. Therefore, having made Sibyrtius governor of that region — for Menon, its prefect, had lately fallen ill and died [396] — he himself advanced into Carmania".

[392] See p. 70-71.

[393] Diodorus, *Bibl. Hist.*, XVII, 105, 8.

[394] Curtius, *Hist. Alex.*, IX, 10, 19-20.

[395] Rolfe's reading is "Horitae", see Rolfe, *op. cit.*, II, p. 457. The manuscripts show two readings : "Horitae" and "Noritae". I prefer "Noritae".

[396] Here Arrianus is wrong. Sibyrtius's predecessor was Thoas, son of Mandrodorus, who had been commander of the reconnoitring party sent by Alexander from Gedrosia to the sea, see p. 90, note 351.

Arrianus does not mention the letter, but instead he enumerates the new appointments [397] :

"Arriving at length at the Gadrosian capital, Alexander rested his army there. Apollophanes he removed from his satrapy, finding that he had neglected all his orders [398]; and he appointed Thoas to be satrap in his stead [399]; but as he died of sickness, Sibyrtius received the office; he had been recently appointed by Alexander satrap of Carmania: but now he was given the charge of both the Arachotians and the Gadrosians [400], and Tlepolemus son of Pythophanes took over Carmania".

After Alexander's safe return from India Leonnatus was decorated with a golden crown for courage [401] :

"Peucestas, first, who saved his life; then Leonnatus, who did likewise, and also for his risks run in India and his victory at Ora [402], because he faced, with the forces remaining to him, the rebel Oreitans and their neighbours, and beat them in the battle; and also for all his other dispositions which he had satisfactorily made at Ora [403]. Then, besides, he decorated Nearchus for his coasting voyage from India by way of the ocean; for Nearchus also had now arrived at Susa; and next, Onesicritus, the helmsman of the royal ship; also Hephaestion and the rest of the bodyguards".

Among the reasons why Leonnatus was awarded his golden crown are mentioned the "other dispositions which he had satisfactorily made at Ora". Without doubt the foundation of Alexandria is referred to, which town is called by Julius Valerius "Alexandria apud Origala", or "Alexandria near the territory of Ora".

[397] Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*. VI, 27, 1.

[398] This is a mistake. Arrianus himself says that Apollophanes was killed in the battle against the Oritae, see p. 70-71 (*Indica*, 23, 5). See also Berve, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

[399] See p. 100, note 396.

[400] Sibyrtius governed a long time, as he is known to have extended hospitality to Megasthenes, author of the *Indica*, see Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, V, 6, 2.

[401] Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, VII, 5, 5-6.

[402] Robson's translation leaves the impression that Leonnatus fought two battles, viz. first a victory at Ora, and later on a battle against rebel Oreitans : "... and his victory among the Orians, and because he faced, with the forces remaining to him, the rebel Oreitans and their neighbours, and beat them in the battle ...". However, the co-ordinating conjunction "and", *καὶ*, is lacking in the Greek text. In fact the subordinate clause "because he faced ... battle" specifies the reason why this victory was worth Alexander's special attention. Leonnatus won only one battle at Ora. I substituted for Robson's "among the Orians" the translation "at Ora" in accordance with Tarn's note on the subject, see p. 99.

[403] See note 402 *in fine*.

Curtius's account of Alexander's invasion of Oritene

The account by Curtius shows the same characteristics as the reports by Arrianus and by Diodorus, viz. a survey of the entire action, followed by a detailed report. The first part runs as follows [404] :

"And when the winter was nearly over, he burnt the ships which seemed useless, and led the army by land. On the 9th day he came into the region of the Aboritae [405], and from there in the same number of days into that of the Cedrosii. This free people, after having held a council, surrendered themselves, and nothing was demanded of the surrendered except supplies".

Next to it follows the second part [406] :

"Next, on the 5th day, he came to a river which the natives call the Barbarus [407]. A region barren and poor in water met him; having passed through this, he crossed into the land of the Noritae [408]. There he handed over the greater part of the army to Hephaestion and shared the light-armed troops with Ptolemy and Leonnatus. Three armies at the same time were pillaging the Indi, and a great amount of booty was driven off; Ptolemy was burning the maritime regions, the king himself and in another direction Leonnatus, the rest of the country. In this region also he founded a city, and colonized it with Arachosii.

From there he came to the Indi who dwell along the sea-coast". &c. [409].

The *second* part of the account is easier to interpret than the first. The Barbarus river must correspond to the Arabis, or Hab, because Arrianus tells that Alexander crossed the Arabius, after which he traversed a desert by night, and started the attack on the Oritans at dawn [410]. The reading "Noritae" instead of "Oritae" points out that Curtius has used Clitarchus as a source [411].

However, the interpretation of the *first* part of the account is hardly possible if we stick to the usual correction of the reading "Aboritae"

[404] Curtius, *Hist. Alex.*. IX, 10, 4-5.

[405] I replaced Rolfe's correction "of the Arabitae" by the original reading "of the Aboritae". The manuscripts show "Aboriton", representing the latinized form of the Greek genitive plural '*Αβοριτῶν*, see Bardon, *op. cit.*, II, p. 388, note.

[406] Curtius, *Hist. Alex.*, IX, 10, 6-7.

[407] I replaced Rolfe's correction "Arabus", see Rolfe, *op. cit.*, II, p. 451, by "Barbarus" because the latter represents the textual tradition, see Bardon, *op. cit.*, II, p. 388, note.

[408] I replaced Rolfe's reading "Horitae" (Rolfe, *op. cit.*, II, p. 453) by "Noritae" in accordance with the textual tradition, see Rolfe, *op. cit.*, II, p. 452, note.

[409] Continuation at p. 97.

[410] See p. 91 : passage printed in italics.

[411] See p. 71-72.

into "Arabitae". Supposing we take the "Aboritae" for "Arabitae", why then Alexander needed 9 day's marches to arrive at the outlet of the Hab river where the "Arabitae", viz. the Abereans, lived, whereas according to the *second* report he arrived there on the 5th day? The only solution is that the so-called "Aboritae" represent the "Oritae", and *not* the "Arabitae". For the rest, this interpretation is closely connected with the meaning of the last sentence of the first section :

"This free people, after having held a council, surrendered themselves, and nothing was demanded of the surrendered except supplies".

If not advertised of the real meaning of this note, the reader will get the impression that "this free people" is represented by the Gedrosians, who are mentioned at the end of the preceding sentence. However, comparison with Arrianus's report on that matter points out that during Alexander's action at the defile of the Hingol river the Gedrosians did not surrender. They simply fled, deserting their post. But the chiefs of the Oritans did surrender themselves and their nation [412]. As to the Arabitae (= Abereans), like the Gedrosians they did not surrender either. Arrianus tells that thinking they were no match for Alexander, and yet not wishing to surrender, when they learned that Alexander was approaching, they fled into the desert. Therefore the details about the surrender must have a bearing on the "Aboritae", and *not* on the Gedrosians, and as an identification of the "Aboritae" with the "Arabitae" is altogether ruled out, the only remaining possibility is identifying them with the Oritans.

The variant reading "Aboritae" in the sense of "Oritae" does not stand alone. I happened to find another similar form in Plinius's Natural History [413] :

"then 250 miles of desert; and after traversing that, the Organagae, Abortae, and Bassuertae; and next to these an uninhabited stretch equal in extent to the preceding one. Then the Sorofages, Arbae and Marogomatrae".

The last line, which enumerates three peoples, is sufficiently clear. The "Arbae" are identical with the "Arabitae", or the *Ābhīra* tribe which occupied the delta and the plateau of Karachi from the easternmost branch of the Indus to the Hab river. In this connection "Marogomatrae" is likely to be identical to "Morontobara", *alias* Ladies' Harbour,

[412] See p. 92.

[413] Plinius, *Nat. Hist.*, VI, 77.

which I have identified with Karachi Harbour [414]. "Sorofages" reminds of "Saparancus", the fifth Indus mouth in Ptolemaeus's enumeration. Its variant readings are "Sapara", "Saparages", and "Sarapa", and "Sorofages" is obviously related to the reading "Sarapa". In its turn "Sarapa" is identical with "Saranga", Nearchus's fourth anchorage off the coast of the Indus delta [415]. Plinius must have borrowed the three names from a common textual fragment, which mentioned the anchorages off Saranga, in Morontobara, or Ladies' Harbour, and in the mouth of the Arabis river, or Hab, which the people of the Arabitae were called after.

It is probable that the "uninhabited stretch equal in extent to the preceding one" represents the desert which Alexander traversed by night after he had crossed the Arabis river. As the length of this desert is said to be 250 miles, or 2000 Greek stades, the manuscript from which Plinius had got these details must have been a corrupt one. Virtually, the length of the desert was 200 stades [416].

In view of these identifications one is justified in comparing the preceding three geographical names with designations of places situated in the Oritan country. "Organagae" may be compared with "Argenuus, with a serviceable harbour", mentioned by Plinius in connection with "Alexandria, founded ... by Leonnatus" [417].

The "Bassuertae" may be compared with the "Pasirees", or inhabitants of the village of Pasira, situated near Bagisara, or present Ormara [418]. There remains the name of the "Abortae", mentioned in between the "Organagae" and the "Bassuertae". The name looks very similar to the one of the "Aboritae", and, as the name is quoted by Plinius next to the one of the "Organagae", I am inclined to regard it as just another variant reading of the "Aboritae", the tribe which I have identified with the Oritans.

If the desert mentioned at the beginning of the fragment may be supposed to present the arid region of Gedrosia where Alexander's army suffered many hardships, one may draw the conclusion that in general the toponyms are enumerated from the west to the east, viz. first the Gedrosian desert, then three toponyms belonging to the coast of

[414] See p. 54-55.
[415] See p. 86.
[416] See p. 91.
[417] See p. 73.
[418] See p. 73, and *ibidem*, note 287, and p. 81, and *ibidem*, note 313.

Baluchistan, next the Oritan desert, and finally three places situated along the coast of the Karachi plateau and the Indus delta.

If I dwelt upon the identification of the "Aboritae" at some length, it is because it supplies the key to the solution of a far more important question : *the actual distance between Patala and the Hab, and between the Hab and Alexandria in the Oritan country*. As the "Aboritae" have turned out to represent the Oritans, the data supplied by the initial portion of Curtius's account fall exactly into line with the details mentioned in the second part.

If the distance between Patala and the Hab is 5 day's marches, and the distance between Patala and the Oritan country 9 day's marches, *it follows that the distance between the Hab and the Oritans is 4 day's marches*. Alexander needed only one night to traverse "a considerable part of desert", and then, at dawn, "he was close to the inhabited region" [419]. This desert is the barren plateau between the Hab and Naka Kharari [420], the latter place being identical with ancient "Pagala" (Arrianus), or "Pegadae" (Philostratus) [421], which designations are, most probably, derived from an original reading "Pagana", viz. "the district of Paga", as in majuscule script the *ΛI* and *N* are liable to be confused.

At dawn Alexander's cavalry squadrons charged from their base at "Pagana". The enemies were fully surprised, and, as horsemen, Alexander's light troops must have covered a large distance. I suppose that at nightfall Alexander had got as far as "Cabana", or "the district of Caba", which according to Nearchus lay 430 stades, or about 50 miles, from "Pagana". If we calculate the distance after the system of corrected figures I have proposed to apply to the length of the Oritan coast, the figure of 430 stades would correspond to 33 miles [422]. For the rest, Cabana was the only district between Pagana and Oritene. Perhaps it should be sought for in the region of the Siranda lake [423]. There Alexander rested the cavalry squadrons, until the rear-guard under Hephaestion had joined the advance guard. Then the entire army marched to Rambacia, viz. the district of Oritene, where they arrived on the 4th day after Alexander had crossed the Hab river. This possibility

[419] See p. 91.
[420] See p. 91.
[421] See p. 70.
[422] See p. 75.
[423] See p. 92, and *ibidem*, note 358. See also p. 70.

is not improbable [424]. Alexander must be supposed to have got into Cabana at nightfall of the first day, and even if it had taken Hephaestion three days to cover the same distance so that he arrived at the spot which was agreed upon only at nightfall of the 3d day, the army would have had at its disposal one full day to cover the 200 stades' distance separating Cabana from Oritene.

Another interesting detail in Curtius's account is the one connected with the distance from Oritene to the Gedrosian border [425] :

"On the 9th day he came into the region of the Aboritae, and from there in the same number of days into that of the Gedrosii".

As the Aboritae have turned out to be identical with the Oritae, it is certain that it took Alexander 9 days to get from Ora to the Hingol river where the allied armies of the Gedrosians and Oritans had blockaded the entrance to the Hingol valley. It is very improbable that these 9 *days* represent 9 *day's marches*. According to Nearchus's log-book the distance between Cocala *alias* Oritene, viz. Nearchus's anchorage off the town of Ora, and his anchorage in the mouth of the Hingol river was 500 stades. If necessary, Alexander's army was able to cover that distance in one day. In connection with Alexander's march through proper Gedrosia Strabo says [426] :

"And it was necessary also, on account of the wells, to make long marches of 200 or 300 stadia, and sometimes even 600, travelling mostly by night".

In my opinion the solution is that Alexander spent considerable time on a siege of the village of Ramba *alias* Ora. He had taken the district of Cabana by surprise, but reports on the atrocities committed during the invasion had reached the Oritans meanwhile. In contrast to their neighbours they were in a position to collect troops and to fortify their village. In the next chapter I shall supply the evidence in support of this point of view.

[424] Conclusive evidence at p. 130.
[425] See p. 102.
[426] Strabo, *Geogr.*, XV, 2, 6.

CHAPTER IV

THE SIEGE OF HARMATELIA

§ 1. The king and the serpent

I have stressed once and again that the reports of Arrianus, Diodorus, and Curtius supplement each other in an excellent way. If they differ, it is due to reasons like alternative selection, abridgement, or insertion of opinions borrowed from other Alexander historians. However, the story of the siege of Harmatelia is an exception to the rule. Arrianus has entirely failed to relate it, whereas Diodorus and Curtius have dwelt upon the subject extensively. There is not even the slightest evidence from which one might infer that Arrianus knew the story quite well, but had deliberately passed it over in silence. On the contrary, the story comes from a source which was well-disposed towards the Ptolemaic dynasty of Egypt, and as Arrianus has based his history mainly on the memoirs of Ptolemaeus I Soter, he should be expected to have been the very first to inform his readers of the event. Obviously, the story of the siege did not figure in the main sources used by Arrianus.

According to both the authors, Diodorus as well as Curtius, the famous siege occurred during Alexander's conquest of the Indus valley shortly after he had crushed the revolt of Musicanus, and before he had conquered the Indus delta [427]. The version of Diodorus is as follows [428].

"Next he ravaged the kingdom of Sambus. He enslaved the population of most of the cities and, after destroying the cities, killed more than 80,000 of the natives. He inflicted a similar disaster upon the tribe of the Brahmins, as they are called; the survivors came supplicating him with branches in their hands, and punishing the most guilty he forgave the rest. King Sambus fled with 30 elephants into the country beyond the Indus and escaped [429].

The last city of the Brahmins, called Harmatelia [430], was proud of the valour of its inhabitants and of the strength of its location. Thither he sent a small force of mobile troops with orders to engage the enemy and retire if they came

[427] See p. 22-24.

[428] Diodorus, *Bibl. Hist.*, XVII, 102, 6-103,8.

[429] See p. 16-22.

out against them. These were 500 in number, and were despised when they attacked the walls. Some 3000 soldiers issued out of the city, whereupon Alexander's task force pretended to be frightened and fled. Presently the king launched an unexpected attack against the pursuing natives and charging them furiously killed some of the natives, and captured others.

A number of the king's forces were wounded, and these met a new and serious danger. The Brahmins had smeared their weapons with a drug of mortal effect; that was their source of confidence when they joined the issue of the battle. The power of the drug was derived from certain snakes which were caught and killed and left in the sun. The heat melted the substance of the flesh and drops of moisture formed; in this moisture the poison of the animals was secreted.

When a man was wounded, the body became numb immediately and then sharp pains followed, and convulsions and shivering shook the whole frame. The skin became cold and livid and bile appeared in the vomit, while a black froth was exuded from the wounds and gangrene set in. As this spread quickly and overran to the vital parts of the body, it brought a horrible death to the victim. The same result occurred to those who had received large wounds and to those whose wounds were small, or even a mere scratch.

So the wounded were dying in this fashion, and for the rest Alexander was not so much concerned, but he was deeply distressed for Ptolemy, the future king, who was much beloved by him. An interesting and quite extraordinary event occurred in the case of Ptolemy, which some attributed to divine Providence. He was loved by all because of his character and his kindness to all, and he obtained a succour appropriate to his good deeds. The king saw a vision in his sleep. It seemed to him that a snake appeared carrying a plant in its mouth, and showed him its nature and efficacy and the place where it grew. When Alexander awoke, he sought out the plant, and grinding it up plastered it on Ptolemy's body. He also prepared an infusion of the plant and gave Ptolemy a drink of it. This restored him to health. Now that the value of the remedy had been demonstrated, all the other wounded received the same therapy and became well.

Then Alexander prepared to attack and capture the city of Harmatelia, which was large and strongly fortified, but the inhabitants came to him with suppliant branches and handed themselves over. He spared them any punishment.

Now he resumed his voyage down the river and sailed out into the Ocean with his Friends". &c.

As Diodorus has inserted the story of Harmatelia next to the description of the disaster inflicted upon the "tribe of Brahmins" occupying the territory of king Sambus, it seems that he took the Brahmins of Harmatelia for just some other members of the same "tribe".

Likewise Curtius regards them as inhabitants of Sambus's kingdom, although he does not call them "Brahmins", but "barbarians" (barbari),

[430] Variant reading : Harmata, see Welles, *op. cit.*, p. 414, note 2.

and "citizens" (oppidani) [431]. But for a few details Curtius's version does not differ essentially from Diodorus's account. He tells that Alexander's task force consisted of 500 "Agriani" [432], and that 800 "barbarians" were killed, and 1000 captured, and the rest shut within the walls of the city. There is an extensive eulogium on Ptolemaeus, who is said to be the son of Philippus, Alexander's father, and a concubine. When Ptolemaeus was wounded, Alexander ordered a bed for himself to sleep on to be brought in Ptolemaeus's tent. The serpent did not show the exact spot where the medicinal herb grew, but Alexander declared that he would recognize its colour as soon as someone had found it. For the rest it is hardly worth-while summing up the variant details, for it is obvious that Curtius has freely repeated a well-known story.

In broad outline the story consists of the next elements : the military exploit, the poisoned weapons and how the drug was prepared, the pathography, Alexander's dream, the medicinal herb, and the subsequent surrender of Harmatelia.

The preparation of the poison and the pathography

As to the preparation of the poison and the pathography I found in Aelianus's book "On the Characteristics of Animals" the next text which to my knowledge seems to have escaped notice so far [433] :

"Historians say that India is rich in drugs and remarkably prolific of medicinal plants, of which some save life and rescue from danger men who have been brought to death's door through the bites of noxious creatures (and there are many such in India); while other drugs are swift to kill and destroy; and to this class might be assigned the drug which comes from the Purple Snake.

Now this snake appears to be a span long; its colour is like the deepest purple, but its head they describe as white and not purple, and not just white, but whiter even than snow or milk. But this snake has no fangs and is found in the hottest regions of India, and though it is quite incapable of biting — for which reason you might pronounce it to be tame and gentle — yet if it vomits upon anyone (so I am told), be it man or animal, the entire limb inevitably putrefies [434].

Therefore when caught men hang it up by the tail, and naturally it has its head hanging down, looking at the ground. And below the creature's mouth they place a bronze vessel, into which there ooze drops from its mouth; and

[431] Curtius, *Hist. Alex.*, IX, 8, 17-28.

[432] See p. 9, note 47.

[433] Aelianus, *Nat. Anim.*, IV, 36. Aelianus (A.D. 170-230), contemporary of Philostratus, enjoyed the patronage of the empress Julia Domna; see also p. 41, note 173.

[434] The Greek verbal form διασαπῆναι reminds of the substantive σηπεδών, or "gangrene", used by Diodorus in the story of the siege of Harmatelia, see p. 108.

the liquid sets and congeals, and if you saw it you would say that it was gum from an almond-tree ... Now if you give a man a piece of this no bigger than a sesame seed, dropping it into his wine or his food, first he will be seized with convulsions of the utmost violence [435]; next, his eyes squint and his brain dissolves and drips through his nostrils, and he dies a most pitiable death ..." &c.

According to Strabo Aristobulus saw this tiny snake in India [436] :

"He says that you have many much smaller vipers, and asps, and large scorpions, but that none of these is so troublesome as the slender little snakes that are no more than a span long, for they are found hidden in tents, in vessels, and in hedges; and that persons bitten by them bleed from every pore with anguish, and then die unless they receive aid immediately; but that aid is easy because of the virtue of the Indian roots and drugs".

Curtius mentions these snakes in the context of his description of the forests situated between the Acesines, or Chenab, and the Hyraotis, or Ravi, in the Punjab [437] :

"But here also there was a great quantity of serpents, whose scales shone with the brilliance of gold. No poison is more dangerous; for instant death followed their bite unless an antidote was furnished by the natives".

In his description of the same region Diodorus mentions further details [438] :

"This country possessed a multitude of snakes, small and variously coloured. Some of them looked like bronze rods [439], others had thick, shaggy crests, and their bites brought sudden death. The person bitten suffered fearful pains and was covered with a bloody sweat. The Macedonians, who were much affected by the bites, slung their hammocks from trees and remained awake most of the night. Later, however, they learned from the natives the use of a medicinal root and were freed from these fears".

From the examples I quoted it clearly appears that the Alexander historian who first invented the story of Alexander's dream has freely borrowed his subject material from Aristobulus's description of the flora and fauna

[435] The substantive *σπασμὸς*, or "convulsion" is the same as in Diodorus's version of the siege of Harmatelia, see p. 108.

[436] Strabo, *Geogr.*, XV, 1, 45.

[437] Curtius, *Hist. Alex.*, IX, 1, 12.

[438] Diodorus, *Bibl. Hist.*, XVII, 90, 5-7. Tarn is of the opinion that Diodorus combined the report of Aristobulus, who had seen the Indian *karaits*, with the exaggerated account of Clitarchus (= Curtius, *Hist. Alex.*, IX, 1, 12), see Tarn, *Alexander*, II p. 85. However, I suppose that Curtius and Diodorus had independently summarized an extensive description written by Clitarchus, who in his turn had borrowed it from Aristobulus.

[439] The bronze colour reminds of the deep purple mentioned by Aelianus see p. 109.

of the Punjab. Moreover, Alexander could dispense with the advise given by the snake in the dream, for he is known to have had at his disposal a team of Indian physicians [440] :

"No Greek physicians have discovered a remedy against Indian snake-bite; but the Indians themselves used to cure those who were struck. And Nearchus adds that Alexander had gathered about him Indians very skilled in physic, and orders were sent round the camp that anyone bitten by a snake was to report at the royal pavillion".

The interesting point is that in the dream the snake acts as the guardian of the medicinal herb which provides the antidote against its own poisonous bite. This notion was not new to the Greeks. One century before Alexander's expedition Herodotus had handed down a trade legend about guardian snakes which protected the frankincense in Arabia from being gathered by traders [441] :

"these snakes, the same which attempt to invade Egypt [442], are small in size and of various colours, and great numbers of them keep guard over all the trees which bear frankincense, and the only way to get rid of them is by smoking them out with storax [443]".

Frankincense was valued by the Greeks not only as an incense but also as an ingredient of drugs. It figures in the list of 36 ingredients of the famous Mithridatium, prepared by Crateuas, the physician of Mithridates the Great, in about 80 B.C. This antidote was so effective that when Mithridates attempted to poison himself to avoid capture by Pompeius, he was unable to do so [444].

[440] Arrianus, *Indica*, 15, 11; other data about Indian physicians in Strabo, *Geogr.*, XV, 1, 60, and *ibidem*, XV, 1, 70; on the law concerning drugs, see Strabo, *Geogr.*, XV, 1, 22.

[441] Herodotus, *Historiae*, III, 107. Herodotus (484-425 B.C.), from Halicarnassus in Caria (Asia Minor), lived for some time at Athens in the times of Pericles, travelled to the Crimea, and to Colchis on the Black Sea; visited Egypt, Syria, Babylon and Asia Minor; travelled to South Italy and to Sicily; writer of the *Historiae*, a historio-geographical work dealing with the history, geography, and ethnology of Egypt, Scythia, Assyria, Persia, Asia Minor, and Greece from mythical times up to and including the Persian wars; called by Cicero "the father of history".

[442] Herodotus mixed up these snakes with the locusts he was informed of in Egypt, see Herodotus, *Historiae*, II, 75.

[443] Plinius, *Nat. Hist.*, XII, 81, repeats this detail : "They (= the Sabaei) also burn styrax to drive away the snakes which abound in the forests of perfume-producing trees".

[444] Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

When in consequence of Alexander's expedition the Greeks had got acquainted with the small Indian *karait* snakes, they provided Herodotus's Arabian guardian snake with the characteristics handed down in Aristobulus's description of the flora and fauna of the Punjab. In his report on the geography of Saba Strabo says [445] :

"There are also sweet-smelling palms, and reeds; and serpents a span in length, which are dark-red in colour, can leap as far as a hare, and inflict an incurable bite".

The latter "Arabian" snake is the same as the Purple Snake mentioned by Aelianus, who in his turn had borrowed the description from the Alexander historian Aristobulus. Aelianus's snake is likewise "a span long", "its colour is like to the deepest purple", and "it if vomits upon anyone ... the entire limb inevitably putrifies". It is the very snake which in the intermezzo of Alexander's dream acted as the guardian of the herb which was to rescue from instant death Ptolemaeus and the wounded soldiers during the siege of Harmatelia [446].

Alexander's dream

The story of Alexander's dream is sheer propaganda on behalf of the Ptolemaic dynasty of Egypt. In this connection Tarn has tried to show that the guardian snake represented Serapis [447], and that some Alexander historian, perhaps Clitarchus, had invented the story to the greater glory of Ptolemaeus and his god [448].

It is certain that Ptolemaeus I Soter anachronistically introduced Serapis in his history of Alexander. In his description of Alexander's death Arrianus reports [449] :

"And the royal diaries say that in the temple of Serapis an all-night vigil was kept by Peithon, Attalus, Demophon and Peucestas, with Cleomenes, Menidas, and Seleucus, enquiring of the god whether it would be better for Alexander to be brought into the temple of the god and after prayer to be healed by the god; but that an oracle was given from the god that he should not be brought into the temple, but that it would be better for him if he abode where he was".

Ptolemaeus had introduced the cult of Serapis, or Osiris-Apis, the sacred bull buried at Saqqara near Memphis, only after Alexander's

[445] Strabo, *Geogr.*, XVI, 4, 19.
[446] See p. 116 (preliminary conclusion).
[447] Tarn, *Ruler-Cult*, p. 218-219.
[448] Tarn, *Alexander*, II, p. 70-71.
[449] Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, VII, 26, 2.

death, when he himself was king of Egypt. He intended to unify the Egyptians and the Greeks by means of a common cult, and in the next century it spread from the Serapeum at Alexandria, the new capital, over the Near East [450].

In this connection Tarn has stressed the next note on Alexander's visit to the temple of Ammon in Libya, handed down by Arrianus [451] :

"Now Ptolemaeus son of Lagos says that two serpents preceded the army uttering speech, and Alexander bade his leaders follow them and trust the divine guidance; and the serpents did actually serve as guides for the route to the oracle and back again.

But Aristobulus, with the more common version, has it as follows : two crows flying in advance of the army acted as guides to Alexander.

That some divine help was given him I confidently assert, because probability also inclines this way; but the story has been deprived of exactitude by the way in which various writers about Alexander have given various accounts".

Roussel identified the two guardian serpents with a pair of old Egyptian deities, viz. Šai, the god of destiny, and his consort Renenet (Renenwetet)[452]. During the Ptolemaic period the Greeks identified these gods with the old chthonian deities, called "Agathos Daimon", and "Agathe Tyche". They are represented on Alexandrian coins dating from the first century A.D. [453]. Now Tarn has suggested that Ptolemaeus I would have had reason to introduce Šai and his consort into the history of Alexander only if he regarded Šai and Renenet as identical with resp. Serapis and Isis. Starting from this hypothesis he tries to make it probable that the serpent appearing in Alexander's dream should be identified with Serapis.

However, Tarn's identification is based on an *argumentum ex silentio*. There does not exist any evidence in support of this view. On the other hand the identification of Šai with the popular Greek serpent god Agathos Daimon is important. Recently Quaegebeur has published a

[450] Cumont, *op. cit.*, p. 69-94, esp. p. 70-71. See, however, the recent opposite view of W. Swinnen, *Sur la politique religieuse de Ptolémée Ier*, in : *Les syncrétismes dans les religions Grecque et Romaines*, Bibliothèque des Centres d'Études Supérieures Spécialisés, Travaux du Centre d'Etudes Supérieures Spécialisé d'Histoire des Religions de Strasbourg, Univ. de Strasbourg II - Univ. de Besançon, Vendôme, 1973, p. 115-133, esp. p. 132 : "avec un sens aigu des réalités, Ptolémée a tout au long de son règne suivi une politique, ni de fusion, ni d'hellénisation, mais tendant à établir une *modus vivendi* entre Grecs et Indigènes".

[451] Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, III, 3, 5-6.

[452] Roussel, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

[453] Harrison, *Themis*, p. 277-280; Quaegebeur, *op. cit.*, p. 170-176.

monograph on Šai. He is a complex deity, representing one's destiny in particular, and destiny in general. He is one's guardian angel on the one hand, but on the other he became a primordial and universal power. He owes, perhaps, his manifestation as a serpent deity to his being associated with Renenet. He is the Saviour and Protector, and it is in this connection why Pharaos like Ekhnaton and Ramses II have been identified with Šai. When Ptolemaeus III (247-221 B.C.), and Ptolemaeus IV (221-203 B.C.) were designated by the epithet of Šai, the scribes followed the example of the early Pharaos [454].

There is no evidence whatever whether Ptolemaeus I Soter had started this dynastic tradition, but anyway the source material collected by Quaegebeur conclusively proves that the identification of the Pharao with the tutelary serpent deity Šai was firmly rooted when Clitarchus wrote his book on Alexander. I have established as his *annus a quo* the year 258 B.C., and I have suggested that, most probably, he lived in the second century B.C. [455]. By that time the god Agathos Daimon was supposed to have been the tutelary deity of the founder of the Ptolemaic dynasty and was introduced in the pro-Ptolemaic version of the story of the siege of Harmatelia. In my opinion Clitarchus has selected it from some Alexander romance, after which he inserted it in his history in the wrong context [456].

The medicinal herb

In Bretzl's opinion the medicinal herb which the serpent carried in its mouth was the *Nerium odorum Sol.*; it is an oleander decorating the wadies of Baluchistan with its pale red, sweet-smelling flowers in summer [457]. It is mentioned by Theophrastus [458].

[454] Quaegebeur, *op. cit.*, p. 109-112, 124-125, 143 sqq., 146, 152. Tarn's main argument in favour of Ptolemaeus I Soter's identifying himself with Šai is the name of the town of Ptolemais which was founded by him in the beginning of his reign. The Egyptian name of the town is Psoi, which makes sense only if there had existed a special cult of the god Psai/Psoi in Alexandria at the time, see Tarn, *Ruler-Cult*, p. 218-219 (Psai/Psoi is the same as Šai, provided with the Egyptian article). However, the *s* in p3-*sy* = Ptolemais is phonetically different from the *š* in *p*3-*š*(3)*y* = the god, or the notion, Šai, see Quaegebeur, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

[455] See p. 67, note 262.

[456] See p. 116 : Preliminary conclusion.

[457] Bretzl, *op. cit.*, p. 260-266.

[458] Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.*, IV, 4, 13. Theophrastus (370-285 B.C.), pupil of Plato, and of Aristoteles, contemporary of Philippus and Alexander.

"In Gedrosia they say that there grows one tree with a leaf like that of the bay, of which if the beasts or anything else ate, they very shortly died with the same convulsive symptoms as in epilepsy".

Theophrastus had picked up this datum from an extensive report on Alexander's expedition in Baluchistan handed down by some Alexander historian. The same oleander figures at the top of Strabo's list of dangerous plants observed by the army during its march from the Oritan country to Pura, the capital of Gedrosia [459] :

"There was a kind of plant like the laurel which caused any beast of burden which tasted of it to die with epilepsy, along with foaming at the mouth.

And there was a prickly plant, the fruit of which strewed the ground, like cucumbers, and was full of juice; and if drops of this juice struck an eye of any creature, they always blinded it.

Further, many were choked by eating unripe dates.

And there was also danger from the snakes; for herbs grew on the sand-hills, and beneath these herbs the snakes had crept unnoticed; and they killed every person they struck".

The closely related *Nerium oleander L.* growing in the Mediterranean countries has laurel- or bay-like leaves, and the Greeks used to call it Rhododaphne, or Daphne (= laurel). Another designation was Onagra, or Onotheras (= ass's poison), which reminds of the Persian designation of their *Nerium odorum Sol.*, viz. Khar-zahra, or "ass's poison". The plant derives its poisonous effect from the Neriodoriene in its leaves. For that reason Greek pharmacopaic literature recommended its invigorating effect on the pulsation of the heart [460]. Apart from these considerations it stands without doubt that the plant mentioned in the story of Alexander's dream must have been the *Nerium odorum Sol.*, because Bretzl has been so fortunate as to find conclusive evidence in the next information borrowed by Plinius from the same source as the one Theophrastus and Strabo had used [461] :

"The rhododendron, as is shown by its name, comes from the Greeks (another Greek name given it being nērion, and another 'rose-laurel'); it is an evergreen that resembles a rose-tree, and throws out shoots from the stems; it is poisonous for cattle and for goats and sheep, *but for man it serves as an antidote against the poisons of snakes*".

[459] Strabo, *Geogr.*, XV, 2, 7.

[460] Cf. Steingass, *Dictionary*, p. 454 : "khar-zahra, a poisonous shrub or fruit; the colocynth (as being poisonous to asses, dogs, and other animals); rhododaphne; a venomous earth-worm about the size of the finger, and of blackish red colour".

[461] Plinius, *Nat. Hist.*, XVI, 79.

Preliminary conclusion

In the story of the siege of Harmatelia historical elements and fiction have been fused into an attractive whole. Definitely historical is the siege itself, and the subsequent surrender of the town. On the other hand it is certain that the story of Alexander's dream is fiction. It contains though, a number of historical elements. The author who first invented it had borrowed from Aristobulus the description of the horrible effect of snake-bites, which the latter had first observed in the Punjab. He was familiar with the trade legends about guardian serpents guarding costly oriental spice-plants and herbs from their being gathered by traders. As he was well-disposed towards the Ptolemaic dynasty he related this guardian serpent to the Egyptian deity Šai, who was connected with the Ptolemaeans ever since Ptolemaeus III (246-221 B.C.) was regarded as identic with him. He devised the detail of Ptolemaeus I, the Saviour (Soter), being wounded by a poisoned weapon in order to introduce the other Saviour, the god Šai, into the miraculous dream of Alexander. In this respect the ancient Greek belief in the primitive fertility-spirit Agathos Daimon was very useful because on the one hand he was by nature related to the guardian spirit of the oriental spice-plants and herbs, and on the other he was identified with Šai.

Open to doubt is the geographical location of Harmatelia in the Indus valley. Bretzl has shown that the physicians in Alexanders' army used to cure the soldiers who were bitten by snakes, c.q. wounded by poisoned weapons, by means of an infusion drawn from the leaves of the *Nerium odorum Sol*. This oleander grows abundantly in the wadies of Baluchistan, and, moreover, the Alexander historians mention the plant exclusively in connection with Alexander's march through Gedrosia. As for, the rest, in view of its characteristics the story of the siege seems to belong to the *genre* of the Alexander romance rather than to the genuine historical literature it is possible that the town of Harmatelia should be located in Baluchistan and *not* in the lower Indus valley. For this reason I should like to study the data about the flora of Gedrosia somewhat closer.

§ 2. The flora of Gedrosia and the location of Harmatelia

Alexander the Great took a keen interest in science, and not only for this reason but also from a military point of view he regarded it as useful to gather about him every sort of specialists [462] :

[462] Strabo, *Geog.*, II, 1, 6. Alexander used to collect all the available information, see Eggermont, *Alexander*, p. 65.

"those who made the expedition with Alexander acquired only cursory information about everything, but Alexander himself made accurate investigations, since the men best acquainted with the country had described the whole of it for him".

Thanks to Alexander's scientific curiosity we have at our disposal an excellent description of the flora of Gedrosia handed down by Theophrastus, Arrianus, Strabo and Plinius. The reader will find the relevant data listed in the next scheme.

	ARRIANUS *Anab. Alex.*, VI, 22, 4-8	PLINIUS *Nat. hist.* XII, 33	THEOPHRASTUS *Hist. Plant.* IV, 4,12-3	STRABO *Geogr.* XV, 2, 3
1.	In this desert Aristobulus says that many myrrh trees grow, a good deal taller than the ordinary myrrh. The Phoenicians who followed the army as traders collected the gum of the myrrh, for it was abundant, coming from such large trunks and never having been gathered before, and loaded up their pack-mules with it.	On the frontier of India is a race called the Arian, which has a thorn-bush that is valuable for the juice it distils, resembling myrrh. It is difficult to get at this bush because it is hedged with thorns.	In the country called Aria there is a 'thorn' on which is found a gum resembling myrrh in appearance and smell, and this drops when the sun shines on it.	But it [= Gedrosia] produces spices, in particular nard plants and myrrh trees, so that Alexander's army on their march used these for tent-coverings and bedding, at the same time enjoying thereby sweet odours and a more salubrious atmosphere.
2.			There are also many other plants besides those of our land, both in the country and in its rivers. In other parts there is a white 'thorn' which branches in three, of which they make batons and sticks; its wood is sappy and of loose texture, and they call it the thorn 'of Herakles'.	

3. This desert also has a root of spikenard, plentiful and fragrant; this too the Phoenicians gathered; a good deal of it also was trodden underfoot by the army, and from such as was trodden there a delightful fragrance was wafted for some distance over the country, so abundant was it.

4. There are also other trees in the desert, one with a leaf like laurel, and this grows in places which are washed by the sea; the trees are left high and dry by the receding tide, but when the tide returns, they appear growing in the sea; of some, which grow in hollow places, the roots are always washed by the sea, where the water does not recede, and yet the tree is not spoiled by the sea water. The trees here are sometimes even 30 cubits high, and at the season they were in flower, the flower being very like a white violet, but of a very much sweeter perfume.

5.	In the same district there is also a poisonous bush-radish, with the leaf of a bay-tree, the smell of which attracts horses and nearly robbed Alexander of his cavalry when he first entered the region.	There is another shrub as large as a cabbage, whose leaf is like that of the bay in size and shape. And if any animal should eat this, it is certain to die of it. Wherefore, wherever there were horses, they kept them under control.	
6.	This also happened in Gedrosia as well on account of the foliage of the bay-trees;	In Gedrosia they say that there grows one tree with a leaf like that of the bay, of which if the beasts or anything else ate, they very shortly died with the same convulsive symptoms as in epilepsy.	STRABO, *Geogr.* XV, 2, 7 There was a kind of plant like the laurel which caused any beast of burden which tasted of it to die with epilepsy, along with foaming at the mouth.
7.	There is also a thistle on a long stalk growing out of the soil, and the spike on this stalk is so strong that once and again when they were riding past it caught the rider's cloths, and pulled him from his horse rather than come away from its stalk. They say that the hares as they run through get their fur caught in the thistles, and so in fact are captured, just as birds with birdlime or fishes	and in the same district a thorn was reported the juice of which sprinkled on the eyes caused the blindness in all animals.	And they say that another tree there is a sort of 'thorn, (spurge), and that this has no leaf and grows from a single root; and on each of its branches it has a very sharp spine and if these are broken or bruised a quantity of juice flows out, which blinds animals or even a man, if any drops of it should fall on him.	And there was a prickly plant, the fruit of which strewed the ground, like cucumbers, and was full of juice; and if drops of this juice struck an eye of any creature, they always blinded it.

with hooks; but it was fairly easy to cut through with an axe; and the stalk of this thistle when cut gives out considerable juice more abundant and sharper to taste than that of figs in spring.

8.	There was also a plant with a very strong scent, that was full of tiny snakes whose bite was instantly fatal.	Also they say that in some parts grows a herb under which very small snakes lie coiled up, and that, if anyone treads on these and is bitten, he dies.	[in the text this passage follows on no. 9] And there was also danger from the snakes; for herbs grew on the sand-hills, and beneath these herbs the snakes had crept unnoticed; and they killed every person they struck. It was said that among the Oreitae ...
9.		They also say that, if anyone should eat of unripe dates, he chokes to death, and that this fact was not discovered at first. Now it may be that animals and plants have such properties elsewhere also.	Further, many were choked by eating unripe dates. [in the text this passage precedes no. 8]

With the exception of item no. 4, the mangrove, which grows in the tidal zone of the coast of the Arabian Sea in the swamps and lagoons of the Indus delta, Karachi Harbour, Miani Hor lagoon and at the outlet of the Hingol river, the above-mentioned plants present the characteristics of desert vegetation, the individual plants of which are often armed with spines, hooks and prickles of diverse appearance, while a few dispense with leaves altogether.

Item no. 1 belongs to the genus *Commiphora*, which comprises the species of trees producing bdellium, myrrh, and balm. Bretzl identifies

this item with the *Balsamodendron Mukul Stocks*, and Miller calls it the *Commiphora stocksiana Engl.* The plant was first described by the assistent-surgeon J. Ellerton Stocks, who risked his life on two expeditions to Kalat and Quetta [463]. It is the *guggulu* mentioned in Sanskrit literature, and under the name of *bdellium* it was highly valued in Hellenistic and Roman times. In the Old Testament the spice is called *b'ḍolaḥ*, which proves its high antiquity. Its gum was used as an ingredient in perfumes and incense, and also in the preparation of medicines. In another passage Theophrastus calls it "the Indian acantha from which comes something like myrrh" [464].

Item no. 2 is identical with item no. 7 It is the *Euphorbia antiquorum L.*, a cactus-like producer of latex. It may become six feet in height [465].

Item no. 3, the nardus herb, presents difficulties as to its identity. It cannot belong to the Baluchistan area, as there does not grow any nard or myrrh. Miller identifies it with sweet rush, or ginger grass, *Cymbopogon schoenanthus L.* It grows in desert tracts from Karachi up to Peshawar and Ludhiana in the Punjab. In classic literature the latter plant is known as *juncus odoratus*, in Sanskrit as *bhūstṛṇa*, and in Arabic as *izkhir*. In Miller's opinion it produced a stimulating oil used in medicine [466].

Item no. 5, the *Asa foetida*, or *Scorodosma foetidum Bge.*, does not grow in the plains, but in the hills of the inland of Baluchistan. The Baluch as well as the Hindus consider it to be a delicacy in spite of its foul smell [467]. I have mentioned its Sanskrit name *hiṅgu* in connection with the female demon *Hiṅgulācī* who was converted by the Buddhist monk Sudarśana at Hinglaj [468].

Item no. 6 is the *Nerium odorum Sol.* growing abundantly in the wadies of Baluchistan. It is the herb which Alexander used in order to cure the soldiers wounded by poisoned weapons during the siege of Harmatelia [469].

Item no. 9, the date palm, is, of course, well-known. It is cultivated in the tropic and sub-tropic zone north of the 15° parallel in the Near

[463] Bretzl, *op. cit.*, p. 282-284; Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 69-71; biography of Stocks : Bretzl, *op. cit.*, p. 368, note 40.

[464] Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.*, IX, 1, 2.

[465] Bretzl, *op. cit.*, p. 267-279; drawing at p. 268.

[466] Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 94-96.

[467] Bretzl, *op. cit.*, p. 284-292; drawing at p. 288.

[468] See p. 60.

[469] See p. 114-115 and p. 124.

East from the island of Madeira in the west up to the Indian Thar desert in the east. From the evidence supplied by the Alexander historians it appears that the date palm was cultivated in Baluchistan from of old.

In contrast to all the other items[470] item no. 4, the mangrove, does not belong to the desert vegetation, and one wonders why Arrianus has mentioned it in this alien context. These mangroves grow on the mud-flats, morasses and lagoons at the outlets of rivers and river branches in the tidal waters of the Arabian Sea, viz. the coast-line of the Indus delta, Karachi Harbour, Miani Hor lagoon, the outlet of the Hingol river. In fact Arrianus has mixed up three or four different kinds of mangroves. The trees "of 30 cubits high" remind of the *Bruguiera gymnorhiza*, a mangrove of gigantic size, but in view of its *habitus* Bretzl prefers the identification with the *Avicennia officinalis L.*, which grows in the centre of the mangrove forests. The white flowers belong to another mangrove, the *Rhizophora mucronata Lam.*, which grows on the fringe of these forests, and which is clearly visible from the sea side. When the Macedonians passed by, the Rhizophora had just started blossoming, for later on the flowers turn red. The sweet perfume they smelled must have come from the flowers of a fourth kind of mangrove, the *Aegiceras majus Gaertn.*, a shrub growing on the coast, and not in the tidal waters [471].

Though the botanist Theophrastus did not list the mangrove in his survey of the plants belonging to Aria (= Ariana) and Gedrosia, he has mentioned it elsewhere. He has described the *Avicennia officinalis L.* in connection with Carmania (Kirman), and the *Rhizophora mucronata Lam.* in a paragraph on the "islands", viz. the mud-flats off the coast of the delta and eastern Baluchistan [472].

The data about the geographical distribution of these plants and trees are rather vague. I have summarized them in the next scheme.
Theophrastus places the item 1 in the country called Aria. Comparison with Plinius points out that Ariana is meant, or the eastern portion of the plateau of Iran. Ariana comprises the satrapies of Aria, Parapa-

[470] Item no. 8 grows on sand-hills, see p. 120.

[471] *Avicennia officinalis L.* : Bretzl, *op. cit.*, p. 41-47, drawing at p. 42; *Rhizophora mucronata Lam.* : Bretzl, *op. cit.*, p. 57-60, drawing at p. 56; *Aegiceras majus Gaertn.* : Bretzl, *op. cit.*, p. 60-64, drawing at p. 62.

[472] Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.*, IV, 7, 5 : "In Persia in the Carmanian district" &c., and *ibidem*, IV, 7, 4 : "On the islands which get covered by the tide" &c.; the latter information comes next to *ibidem*, IV, 7, 3 : "Now some referring to the occasion when there was an expedition of those returning from India sent out by Alexander" &c. Therefore the islands must have been those which Nearchus passed by during his voyage along the Indus delta and the coast of Baluchistan.

Name	Arrianus	Plinius	Theophrastus	Strabo
1. Stocksiana	desert : 1	Ariana : 1	Aria : 1	Gedrosia : 1
2. Euphorbia	——	——	in other parts : 2	——
3. Sweet rush	desert : 3	——	——	——
4. Mangrove	desert : 4	——	Carmania "islands"	——
5. Asa Foetida	——	Ariana : 5	Ariana : 5	——
6. Nerium odorum	——	Gedrosia : 6	Gedrosia : 6	(Gedrosia) : 6
7. Euphorbia	desert : 7	Gedrosia : 7	Gedrosia : 7	Gedrosia : 7
8. Shrub with serpents	——	Gedrosia : 8	In some parts : 8	Gedrosia : 8
9. Date palm	——	Gedrosia : 9	? : 9	Gedrosia : 9

misadae, Arachosia, Gedrosia, and also the country of the Oritans, or in short Afghanistan, Persian Baluchistan, and Pakistani Baluchistan. Aria and Gedrosia are only districts of Ariana, or the Aryan area. One should, therefore, be careful to distinguish Aria from Ariana.

Arrianus has indiscriminately mixed up the mangroves of the coastal area with the proper desert vegetation of the inland, and he has placed the entire flora in the desert. For this reason I suppose that Aristobulus, Arrianus's source, had listed the plants and trees which the Macedonians observed during their march in Ariana from the Hab river by Ora to the Hingol river, and hence to Pura, the metropolis of Gedrosia. In fact, Strabo's list of the Gedrosian flora ends in the sentence [473]:

"Having arrived at the royal seat of the Gedrosii on the 60th day after leaving Ora, Alexander gave his multitudinous army only a short rest and set out for Carmania".

Obviously, Strabo's source had included the Oritan coast in the description of the Gedrosian vegetation.

Anyway Bretzl has drawn the conclusion that Alexander must have seen the mangrove swamps of Sonmiani bay, viz. of the Miani Hor lagoon [474] :

[473] Strabo, *Geogr.*, XV, 2, 7. Jones, *Strabo*, VII, p. 139 translates ἀπὸ Ὡρῶν by "after leaving the Orae", but the translation ought to be "after leaving Ora", see p. 99, and *ibidem*, note 391.

[474] Bretzl, *op. cit.*, p. 79 : "Aristobul schildert die Mangrove der Sonmiyáni-Bai. Kleine Abweichungen in der Ansetzung des Hafens und der Stadt Kókala bleiben dabei ohne Bedeuting; die Gegend der Bucht ist sicher". Jacoby rejected this important conclusion without any comment, see Jacoby, *F.G.H.*, p. 520 : "Bretzl's argumentation 68f., dass A die mangrove an der Sonmiyáni-bai selbst beobachtet habe, ist mir nicht überzeugend". However, Bretzl's conclusion is corroborated by the identifications of Cocala with either the fishing-station near Khandewari (my own hypothesis), or the region of the Phor river (Tomaschek's hypothesis) which are based on an entirely different method of research, see p. 74-77.

"Small divergencies in the location of the port and town of Cocala are not relevant to this matter; the region of the bay is settled".

I have to discuss the item no. 8 yet. In my opinion it presents an indication to the location of Harmatelia. According to Theophrastus the text is as follows [475] :

"Also they say that in some parts grows a herb under which very small snakes lie coiled up, and that, if anyone treads on these and is bitten, he dies".

As to their size these snakes remind of the Purple Snake mentioned by Aelianus [476], and of the tiny Indian *karait* snakes which Aristobulus observed in the Punjab [477]. A little while back I have said that the descriptions of this purple snake as well as the trade legends about guardian snakes protecting costly oriental spices represent as many sources of the tale of Alexander's dream [478]. Here, in item no. 8, the small snakes are combined with a herb, which according to Plinius's version had a very strong scent [479] :

"There was also a plant with a very strong scent, that was full of tiny snakes whose bite was instantly fatal".

I have an inkling that we have come across the very source which inspired the author of some Alexander romance to invent the tale of Alexander's dream, and to insert it in the account of the siege of Harmatelia. The plant may have been the *Nerium odorum* decorating the wadies of Baluchistan with its pale red, sweet-smelling flowers in summer, the "Ass's Poison", the leaves of which provided an antidote against snake poison [480]. In this connection it does not matter whether actually the *Nerium odorum* is full of tiny snakes, although I regret not having at my disposal specialized literature on the snakes of Baluchistan and their favourite hiding-places; what matters is that the writer of the tale regarded the tiny snakes mentioned by Theophrastus as the guardian serpents of the *Nerium odorum*. In my opinion he believed so, and therefore introduced their "king" in the tale of Alexander's dream. The syncretistic belief in the Agathos Daimon = Egyptian god Šai and his kind disposition towards the Ptolemaic dynasty were the prominent factors which guided the author towards the choice of this special source material.

[475] See p. 120.
[476] See p. 109-110.
[477] See p. 110, and p. 116 (premilinary conclusion).
[478] See p. 116.
[479] See p. 120.
[480] See p. 114-115, 119, and 121..

As both the *Nerium odorum* and the plant full of tiny snakes, are mentioned in the very list of plants belonging to the flora of Baluchistan, it seems that the scene of the siege of Harmatelia should be placed in Baluchistan as well. In the next paragraph I hope to give conclusive evidence to that effect.

§ 3. The identification of Harmatelia with the town of Ora in Oritene

By the first century B.C. the story of Alexander's dream had become a traditional element of the Alexander romance, and many authors were inclined to regarding it as a historical fact. Strabo was of the opinion that it was fiction added to the history of the siege for the sake of flattery, but Cicero on the other hand quoted the story without any comment.

Strabo's version of Alexander's dream

The contents of Strabo's version are as follows [481] :

"And there was also danger from the snakes; for herbs grew on the sand-hills, and beneath these herbs the snakes had crept unnoticed; and they killed every person they struck.

It was said that among the Oreitae the arrows, which mere made of wood and hardened in fire [482], were besmeared with deadly poisons; and that Ptolemaeus

[481] Strabo, *Geogr.*, XV, 2, 7.

[482] Likewise the Fish-eaters, who occupied the area about the outlet of the Hingol river, used to harden the tips of their spears with fire, see Arrianus, *Indica*, 24, 3. In this connection O. Stein takes Strabo's version of the story of the siege of Harmatelia for a replica of Curtius's version, see PW, vol. 33, 1939, p. 942-951, *s.v.* Oreitai, esp. p. 943 : "The story about Ptolemaeus being struck by a poisoned arrow in the battle against the Oritans (Strab. XV, 2, 7, p. 723; Cic. de divin. II, 66) represents a replica of the battle near Harmatelia in the country of Sambos (Diod. XVII, 102, 6 sqq., Curtius, IX, 8, 22 sqq., Justin. XII, 10,3). One cannot rely on that version at all, because Nearchus's authentical report (Arrianus, Ind. 24,3 sqq.) stresses that the Oritans had at their disposal only spears, and not arrows, the more so as iron was unknown to them (Ind. 24,9). That applies to all the Fish-eaters, not to mention the fact that according to the report there was quite a distance between Alexander and the squadron of Ptolemaeus" (translated by me from the German).

In my opinion there is no point in Stein's reasoning. Story-tellers never repeat stories literally. They vary on the details almost at will. Strabo mentions poisoned arrows, but Curtius swords, and Diodorus arms, *σίδηρος*,lit. "iron". The Oritans from the inland are reported to equip themselves for warfare as the Indians do, and on funerals they carried spears, see p. 61. Therefore the citizens of Harmatelia may very

was wounded and in danger of losing his life; and that when Alexander was asleep someone stood beside him and showed him a root, branch and all, which he bade Alexander to crush and apply to the wound; and that when Alexander awoke from his sleep he remembered the vision, sought for, and found, the root, which grew in abundance; and that he made use of it, both he himself and the others; and that when the barbarians saw the antidote had been discovered they surrendered to the king.

But it is reasonable to suppose that someone who knew of the antidote informed the king, and that the fabulous element was added for the sake of flattery.

Having arrived at the royal seat of the Gedrosii on the 60th day after leaving Ora, Alexander gave his multitudinous army only a short rest and then set out for Carmania".

From the text it is evident that Strabo located the siege of Harmatelia in the Oritan country. The final sentence is conclusive : "and that when the barbarians saw the antidote had been discovered they surrendered to the king". It reminds of the final sentence in Curtius's version : "The barbarians, since their first hope had proved vain, surrendered themselves and the city".[483].

Another argument in favour of this view is that the story comes next to the passage on the herbs full of snakes, which in its turn is the final passage of Strabo's description of the flora of Baluchistan. I suppose that in Strabo's source both, the description of the herb with the snakes and the story of the siege, were closely connected. In fact, the note on the *Nerium odorum* and its guardian snakes represents the introduction to the story of the siege. It explains where the citizens of Harmatelia had got the poison from, and which herb supplied the antidote against it. In short, in the original Alexander romance the introductory passage on the snakes and the medicinal herb must of necessity have been part of the entire tale. *It involves that the location of the siege in the Oritan country must likewise have been part of the original version of the story.* If Diodorus and Curtius shift the scene of the siege to the Indus valley, it is, perhaps, because from the second century B.C. onwards the accurate well have been Oritans. Stein's second argument is only partly correct. The squadrons under the command of Alexander, Ptolemaeus and Leonnatus acted on their own during the initial phase of the Oritan campaign between Pagala (= Naka Kharari) and Cabana (= region between Porali and Siranda lake), but from there to Ora *the entire army* marched on under the command of Alexander himself. From this point of view it is probable that the town of Ora *alias* Ramba was identical with Harmatelia, as it was most probably, besieged by the entire army when the first assault by the light troops had failed, see p. 91 (action against Rambacia), compare p. 107-108 (action against Harmatelia).

[483] Curtius, *Hist. Alex.*, IX, 8, 28.

details of Alexander's expedition were obscured by pseudo-geographical literature. Diodorus, for example, evidently mixed up Gedrosia with Oritene in the next report [484] :

"He advanced into the country of the Oreitae through the passes and quickly brought it all to submission".

These passes are the entrance to the Hingol valley where the Gedrosians and the Oritans tried to check Alexander's advance [485]. The Hingol river represented the western border of the Oritan country, and the inland behind the passes belonged to Gedrosia. When Alexander arrived at the passes, he had virtually submitted the entire coastal area belonging to the Oritans. On the other hand pseudo-geographical notions used to attribute the Oritan coast to the area of the Indus delta. From these unreliable sources Ptolemaeus derived his imaginary Seven Indus Mouths which o.a. comprised the outlets of the Chariphus, or Hab, river and of the Lonibarae, or Hingol, river [486]. From the point of view of speudo-geography the Oritan country was part of the Indus delta, which may explain why Clitarchus, from whom Diodorus and Curtius had borrowed this notion, had Harmatelia shifted from the coast of Oritene to the Indus valley.

Cicero's version of Alexander's dream

At an early age — it was the year 44 B.C. — Strabo had travelled to Rome in order to attend the lectures of the philosopher Xenarchus. There he may have been guided into the study of geography by the distinguished geographer Tyrannion, the instructor of Cicero's two sons [487]. In the very year Cicero published his essay entitled "On Divination" in which he himself and his brother Quintus are supposed to discuss various supernatural phenomenons, a.o. the dream of Alexander [488] :

[484] Diodorus, *Bibl. Hist.*, XVII, 105, 1; *cf.* Plutarchus, Vita Alex., 66.

[485] See p. 98.

[486] See p. 86.

[487] Jones, *Strabo*, I, p. XVII.

[488] Cicero, *De Div.*, II, 135 (= II, caput 66). M. Tullius Cicero (106-43 B.C.), famous pleader in the Roman courts; elected consul in 63 B.C., he suppressed the conspiracy of Catilina and was acclaimed Father of his country; exiled to Greece owing to his opposition against Caesar 58-57 B.C.; governor of Cilicia 51-50 B.C.; partisan of Pompeius in the Civil War 49-48 B.C.; during the dictatorship of Caesar he turned towards writing books on philosophy and literary subject matter 46-45 B.C.; when Caesar was assassinated in 44 B.C., he aroused the opposition against M.

"Let us now consider dreams that are clear and direct ... like Alexander's dream, which, to my surprise, my dear Quintus, you passed without notice ; Alexander's intimate friend, Ptolemaeus, had been struck in battle by a poisoned arrow and was at the point of death from his wound and suffering the most excruciating agony. Alexander, while sitting by the bedside of his friend, fell fast asleep. Thereupon, so the story goes, he dreamed that the pet serpent of his mother Olympias [489] appeared to him carrying a root in its mouth and, at the same time, gave him the name of the place close by where it said the root grew. This root, the serpent told him, was of such great virtue that it would effect the speedy cure of Ptolemaeus. As soon as Alexander awoke he related the dream to his friends and men were sent to find the root. It is said that when the root was found it worked the cure not only of Ptolemaeus, but also of many soldiers who had been wounded by the same kind of arrow".

Cicero's account is the earliest dated version of Alexander's dream. By then the story was well-known in the Hellenistic world. Therefore one may regard the year 44 B.C. as the *annus ante quem* of Clitarchus, and as I have shown that the year 258 B.C. is the *annus a quo* I feel justified in concluding that Clitarchus must have lived in the second century B.C. [490].

The identification of Harmatelia with the town of Ora

As all the data I have collected point out that the town of Harmatelia was situated in Baluchistan, and in particular in the district of Oritene, and as, moreover, the largest village in the Oritan country was the town of Ora, it is obvious that one should examine whether the names of the two towns are derived from a common original designation. HARMATELIA seems to represent an eparchy name. In Greek majuscule script the *N* is liable to be corrupted into *ΛI* so that the original name should have been HARMATENA, *ΑΡΜΑΤΗΝΑ*, or "district of the Harmatae", who in their turn called themselves after the town of HARMA, *ΑΡΜΑ*.

The plural form is mentioned by Stephanus of Byzantium in his dictionary of geographical names [491] :

Antonius. The next year he was proscribed and killed by the partisans of Antonius and Octavianus. The greater part of his pleas, books on rhetorics, philosophy, and various other subjects, as well as his collected letters have survived.

He wrote the *De Divinatione* in 45 B.C., and the final text was published in 44 B.C.: see Falconer, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

[489] There were rumours that a divine serpent had begotten Alexander, see Justinus, *Epitoma*, XI, 11, 3; comment on that passage in Pease, *op. cit.*, p. 565, note 2.

[490] See p. 67, note 262.

[491] Meineke, *op. cit.*, I, p. 122 : *ἔστι καὶ Ἄρματα πόλις πληθυντικῶς Ἰνδικῆς. ἐθνικὸν τὸ αὐτό, ἢ διὰ τὸ τῆς χώρας ἔθος Ἁρματηνός ἢ Ἁρματίτης (ἔστι καὶ πόλις Ἁρματίτης), ὡς τοῦ ἅρμα ἁρματίτης.*

"There exists also a town called Harmata; the plural form; situated in India. The name of an inhabitant is the same [492], or otherwise, if applied to the country, Harmatenus, or Harmatites (there exists also a town called Harmatites), just like *hermatites* is derived from *herma* [493]".

In a manuscript of Diodorus "Harmata" is mentioned instead of "Harmatelia" [494]. As Stephanus of Byzantium considers Harmata to represent the plural form, the singular form must have been Harma. Harma is supposed to lie in India, but Oritene belonged to India since about 302 B.C. [495]. Therefore it may be supposed as well that Harma was situated in the Oritan country.

In my opinion the name of HARMA is related to ORA. It is an intermediary form in between RAMBA and ORA, the identity of which I have shown by geographical, *not* by palaeographic reasoning [496].

If in this connection I am convinced of the factual identity of HARMA and ORA, it is because I have other geographical source material at my disposal to that effect.

At the very outset of his description of the siege of Harmatelia Curtius Rufus writes [497] :

"Then, on the fourth day, he arrived down the river at a fortified town of the realm of Sambus [498]. That king had lately given himself up, but the people of the city rejected his authority, and had closed the gates of the town." &c.

I have shown that the distance between the Hab river and Ora was 4 day's marches [499]. So the time Alexander needed to get from the Hab

[492] *i.e.* the same as the one which should be derived from "Harmata", viz. "Harmateus".

[493] *i.e.* "hermatites", or "serving as ballast" is derived from "herma", or "ballast".

[494] See p. 108, note 430.

[495] See p. 83-84.

[496] See p. 93-95.

[497] Curtius, *Hist. Alex.*, IX, 8, 17.

[498] The Latin text is : "Quarto deinde die secundo amne pervenit ad oppidum quod in regn(o) erat Sambi.", see Bardon, *op. cit.*, II, p. 381. In Rolfe's opinion the Latin text should be : "Quarto deinde die secundo amne pervenit ad oppidum quod in regno imo erat Sambi.", which implies that this translation becomes : "Then, three days later, he sailed down the river to a town at the extremity of the realm of Sambus". I suppressed the word "extremity", because the ablative singular "imo" does not occur in any reliable manuscript. The manuscripts show only the reading "regnum", an accusative singular form instead of the ablative singular "regno" which is to be expected, see the correction by Bardon. Moreover the perfect "pervenit" denotes the result of an action, and certainly not a continuative one. For that reason I replaced Rolfe's "he sailes ... to" by "he arrived ... at", and "three days later" by the literal translation "on the fourth day".

[499] See p. 105.

to the Oritans corresponds to the time he was sailing down the Indus river to the town of Harmatelia. It follows that Clitarchus, Curtius's source, has torn the story of the siege from its original context, and has preferred placing it in the frame of Alexander's war against Sambus. As he had to readjust the account to the new context, he turned the 4 day's marches from the Hab river to the town of Ora into 4 days sailing down the Indus river. The reason why Curtius removed the story of the siege from the Oritan country to the territory of Sambus is, most probably, that in some manuscripts of Justinus's version of the tale the king of the town is called "Ambus", which name looks very much like "Sambus" [500]. Summarizing I should like to state that concerning the geographical location of Harmatelia we have at our disposal on the one hand the evidence supplied by Curtius, who definitely assigns the town to Sambus, who is introduced as king of the lower Indus valley, though, virtually, he was king of the Quetta-Pishin area, and on the other hand the testimony of Strabo, who is convinced that the town belongs to the plain of Las Bela.

In a way the evidence of Curtius is supported by Diodorus, but in fact both, Curtius as well as Diodorus, have borrowed their source material from one author : Clitarchus.

On the other side the evidence supplied by Strabo is supported by an impressive series of testimonies, viz. first by Bretzl's identification of the antidote with the *Nerium odorum*, which grows abundantly in Baluchistan; secondly by the current pseudo-geographical literature, which used to mix up the Oritan country with the Indus delta; in the third place by the fact that the incident of the serpent carrying a medicinal herb in its mouth has a bearing on the description of the flora of Baluchistan; in the fourth place by the fact that Curtius tries to make us believe that Sambus was king of the lower Indus valley, whereas, virtually, he ruled over the mountainous area on the borders of India and Arachosia; in the fifth place by the fact that, obviously, the four day's marches from the Hab river to the town of Ora turn up in Curtius's description as a four days' voyage down the Indus river to Harmatelia, which town is misrepresented as being situated in the realm of Sambus, whereas that realm did not lay on the Indus at all; in the sixth place by the fact that in some manuscripts of Justinus's version of the same story the king of the town is called "Ambus", which designation is liable to be confused with "Sambus" [501].

[500] See p. 131, note 505.

[501] See p. 114-115 (point 1); p. 127 (point 2); p. 126 (point 3); p. 16-22 (point 4); p. 129-130 (point 5); p. 130 (point 6).

From these facts it is, in my opinion, evident that the town of HARMA, otherwise called HARMATELIA, is identical with RAMBA, otherwise called RAMBACIA, which is reported to be the largest village in the Oritan district of Baluchistan, and which in its turn is identical with Nearchus's anchorage COCALA off the coast of the Las Bela plain.

§ 4. The siege of Harmatelia and the Alexander romance

Between 19 B.C. and 2 B.C. Pompeius Trogus, a Roman citizen of Celtic extraction wrote a history of the world, entitled *Historiae Philippicae* [502]. This book has got lost. Instead we have at our disposal a survey of its contents, written in the third century A.D. by a certain Justinus. It contains a.o. an independent version of the siege of Harmatelia which Pompeius Trogus must have borrowed from some Alexander romance [503]:

"He sent the army under the command of Polyperchon to Babylon [504], but he himself took ship and skirted the coast of the Ocean. When he arrived at the town of king Ambiregus [505], the citizens besmeared the arrows with poison, because they had heard that Alexander could not be defeated by means of common weapons, and in this way they inflicted upon their enemies wounds that were twice mortal so that they were able to dislodge the enemies from their position at the walls and kill a great number. When Ptolemaeus was wounded and many others as well, and when it appeared that he was at the point of death, the king dreamed that a medicinal herb was shown to him. The herb was infused into a potion which restored him to health immediately. The greater part of the army was cured as well.

[502] PW, Band 21, column 2300-2313. The surname Trogus is derived from Celtic "trog", or "clan". Pompeius Trogus was of the third generation of his family to be in possession of Roman citizenship. His grandfather became a Roman citizen during the war of Cn. Pompeius with Sertorius in Spain (78-72 B.C.); his father served in the army of Caesar as an administrative officer; he seems to have been the very Cn. Pompeius who served Caesar's generals Sabinus and Cotta as an interpreter in the war with the Eburones in 54 B.C.

[503] Justinus, *Epitoma*, XII, 10, 1-7.

[504] This detail is not correct. The commander-in-chief was Craterus, see p. 24-25.

[505] As to the variant readings, see Seel, *op. cit.*, p. 115, note : "ambi regis ι; ambiregi regis D; ambigeri regis τ π cf. vGu. Frg. 225, 64 : Ambira rex *ex Or.* 3,19; *qui et* Σάμβος nominatur.". The Teubner text was first edited by F. Ruehl, who divided the manuscripts into four classes, distinguished by the *sigla* τ,π,ι, and γ. Although generally O. Seel, the next editor, preferred the τ class to the other classes, he selected from the variant readings the designation "Ambus" belonging to the ι class, because Orosius, who followed Justinus's text closely, calls the king "Ambira", see p. 133. I myself prefer the reading "Ambiregus" testified by manuscript D, or the codex Vaticanus Lat. 1860.

Having taken the town he embarked again, and beseeching the safe retreat to his homeland he offered a libation to the Ocean; and, as though he had driven his chariot round the terminal pillar, he caused imperial landmarks to be erected as far as the deserts of the earth permitted, and as far as the sea was navigable.

Then he sailed into the mouth of the Indus river, while taking the tide at flood. In commemoration of his exploit he founded the town of Barce [506], and caused altars to be built. He left behind one of his friends as governor of Coastal India.

As he intended to return by land, and as deserts were reported to separate him [from his homeland], he caused wells to be dug on suitable spots. For that reason he had at his disposal sufficient drinkable water so that he could return to Babylon".

Pompeius Trogus's account can broadly be divided into three parts, first the sea-voyage and the siege of Ambiregus's town, secondly the events connected with the foundation of the town of Barce, and in the third place Alexander's retreat to Babylon.

Alexander's sea-voyage and the geographical location of the town of Ambiregus

From Arrianus's account of Alexander's reconnaissance of the Indus delta it appears that the king started by sailing down the western Indus branch until he had arrived at a river island called Cilluta close by the outlet of the river. There he sacrificed to those gods to which Ammon had ordered him to sacrifice. The next day he sailed to an island in the sea situated at a short distance from the outlet. There he sacrificed once more, this time to other gods, but likewise in accordance with the oracle given by Ammon. Next to this event the report is as follows [507] :

"Then passing the mouths of the river Indus *he set sail to the high seas, to see, as he himself said, if any country stood out, near by, in the ocean*; but in my own judgement chiefly that he might have voyaged in the Great Ocean beyond India. *Then he sacrificed bulls to Poseidon*, and cast them into the sea, *and poured, after the sacrifice, a libation*; casting also into the sea the cup, a gold one, and golden bowls, as thank-offerings, *praying also that Poseidon would safely convey his naval force*, which he purposed to despatch under Nearchus towards the Persian Gulf and the mouths of the Euphrates and Tigris".

It is evident that Alexander's third sacrifice, the one in honour of Poseidon, corresponds to the libation offered to the Ocean mentioned in Trogus's

[506] Variant readings : "barcem (parcem G bartem ZX) *T Π*. bastemostem D Baracen *Salmasius* et arcem *Ieep*", see Seel, *op. cit.*, p. 116, note.

[507] Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, VI, 19, 5; full text at p. 28.

version of the account. According to Trogus Alexander beseeched the safe retreat to his homeland, which reminds of Alexander's praying that Poseidon would safely convey Nearchus's naval force. It is equally obvious why Trogus's source had inserted the story of the siege in the frame of Alexander's sea-voyage, and in particular in the passage preceding the sacrifice to the Ocean *alias* Poseidon.

According to Arrianus Alexander had set sail in order to see if any country stood out, near by, in the ocean. Actually Alexander did not find any headland. Arrianus does not report anything to that effect. In this connection I suppose that *the author of some Alexander romance filled in the gap by identifying the non-existent headland with the country where Ambiregus's town was situated.* In my opinion this author has mixed up Nearchus's voyage to the anchorage of Cocala in the Oritan district with Alexander's short sea-voyage outside the mouths of the western Indus branch. I have shown that COCALA is a variant reading of ORITANA, or the Oritan district, and that the town of ORA, after which the district was called, served as a harbour to Alexandria, founded by Leonnatus, the commander-in-chief of the Oritan district [508]. I have proven that RAMBA, the largest village of the Oritans, after which RAMBACIA, or the district of Ramba, was called, and which was taken by Alexander during his Oritan campaign, is identical with ORA [509]. I have made it probable that HARMATELLA is derived from the reading HARMATENA, or the district of the town of HARMA, which in its turn is an intermediary form between ORA and RAMBA [510]. However, from Trogus's version of the siege of Harmatelia it is evident that the identification of HARMA with ORA is not so much a probability as a well-established fact. Just like Ora the town of king Ambiregus was situated on the shore of the Arabian Sea, for Alexander came there by boat. In short, Trogus's source has transformed Alexander's expedition by land into a sea-voyage.

Ambiregus, the Aboritae, and the town of Ramba

I preferred the variant reading "Ambiregus" to "Ambus", and to "Ambigerus", because in his Christian history of the world Orosius calls the king "Ambira" [511] :

[508] See p. 72-74, and 99.

[509] See p. 94-95.

[510] See p. 128-131.

[511] Orosius, *Adv. Paganos*, III, 19, 10-20,1, see Zangemeister, *op. cit.*, p. 87. As a young priest Orosius left Spain in 414 A.D. He went to Africa where he met

"There he took ship and roamed the Ocean. He arrived at a certain town governed by king Ambira, but when he attacked the citizens, he lost many soldiers, because the enemies had besmeared the arrows with poison. Finally he dreamt that a medicinal herb was shown to him; on behalf of the wounded men he infused it into a potion, and after having cured the other soldiers as well he attacked and took the town. Then, as though he had driven his chariot around the terminal pillar, he sailed back from the Ocean into the Indus river, and soon he arrived at Babylon".

As the Alexander historians are known to have called the Indian kings or governors after the town, or the territory, they ruled, it is probable that the name of "Ambire-gu-s" contains the designation of the town, tribe or district he governed. In fact the name AMBIRA or AMBIRE reminds of the variant readings ABORTAE, and ABORITAE, which resp. Plinius and Curtius employed to render the name of the Oritans [512]. The variant reading AMBIRA/AMBIRE is particularly important, because on the one hand it is linked up with the name of the ORI-tae by the intermediary of the reading ABORI-tae, and on the other hand it is related to the reading RAMBA, the other designation of the town of Ora. The common ancestor of these variant readings seems to be the form RAMBIRA which has given rise to two different classes of readings, viz. a class showing the initial R like Ramba, and a class which has dropped it like the greater part of the readings [513].

The market-town of Barbaricum and the Alexander Romance

In the Alexander romance handed down by Pompeius Trogus Alexander is said to have sailed back into the mouth of the Indus after the completion of his sea-voyage, and to have founded there the town of Barce in commemoration of his exploit. The designation points out that the market-town of Barbaricum is meant. It was situated on the banks of the middle branch of the Indus, and its port was protected against the strong winds blowing from the ocean by the small island called Barace. The town was founded by Nearchus, who called it Alexander's Harbour, but in later times it was commonly called Barbaricum, which name was coined by popular etymology after the name of the island [514].

Augustinus, who sent him to Hieronymus, who lived at Bethlehem. On St. Augustinus's request he started writing the *Historiarum Adversus Paganos Libri VII*, and completed it in 417 A.D., see PW, XVIII, 1, column 1185-1195.

[512] See p. 102-103 (Curtius), and 103-105 (Plinius).

[513] See p. 157-159.

[514] See p. 37-41.

In the palmy days of Barbaricum *alias* Barce the middle branch of the Indus was the only navigable one. The eastern and the western branches which had been navigable in Alexander's times had got silted up, and it is, most probably, for this reason that the legends about Alexander had clustered around this famous port, which on the one hand was known to have been founded in Alexander's age, but on the other hand had started its economic career only in the second century B.C. when the earliest romances were published.

In this respect it is conspicuous that in his account of Alexander's reconnaissance of the Indus delta Curtius seems to mix up the western and eastern Indus branches [515] :

"The king ... with a few ships went down the river and, carried out to its mouth, proceeded 400 stadia into the sea, at last accomplishing the object of his prayers. Then, after sacrificing to the gods presiding over the sea and the region, he returned to the fleet. Next the fleet went up the river, and on the second day was moored near a salt lake, the unknown nature of which deceived those who rashly entered its waters ... *Meanwhile he* both *founded several cities* and ordered Nearchus and Onesicritus ... to sail the strongest ships down to the Ocean".

From Arrianus's report it appears that Alexander sailed down the *western* Indus branch, and, after having completed his sea-voyage, returned to Patala by the same Indus branch. However, from Curtius's version one gets the impression that he returned by the *eastern* branch to which the salt lake belongs [516]. In my opinion Curtius has borrowed his subject material from an Alexander romance in which both, the western as well as the eastern Indus branches were mixed up with the middle branch, which was the only navigable one in the second century B.C. His information on the foundation of "several cities" equally ponts that way. These cities must have been Canthi Roadstead, Nearchus's naval base at the salt lake, and the town of Barbaricum *alias* Barce.

The Altars of Alexander

In comparison Diodorus's version concurs with Trogus's source even more. Just like Trogus, Diodorus describes the siege of Harmatelia, and next to it Alexander's reconnaissance of the Indus delta, whereas Curtius inserts the conquest of Patala in between these subjects. Moreover Diodorus mentions the altars which Alexander caused to be built [517] :

[515] Curtius, *Hist. Alex.*, IX, 9, 27-10,3; full text at p. 31.

[516] See p. 31.

[517] Diodorus, *Bibl. Hist.*, XVII, 104, 1; see also p. 32.

"Now he resumed his voyage down the river and sailed out into the Ocean with his Friends, There he discovered two islands and on them performed rich sacrifices [518]. He threw many large cups of gold into the sea following the libations which he poured from them [519]. *He erected altars to Tethys and Oceanus and judged that his projected campaign was at an end.* Setting sail from there, he proceeded back up the river to Patala, a fine city".

From the Greek wording *ἀναζεύξας δ' ἐντεῦθεν*, or "setting sail *from there*", it is evident that the relevant Indus branch is intimately connected with the place where the altars were erected. Comparison with Trogus's source points out that this place was situated close by the town of Barce *alias* Barbaricum, which was situated on the banks of the middle branch of the Indus. This detail shows that Diodorus's source must have been an Alexander romance, which had anachronistically mixed up the western and eastern Indus branches with the middle branch.

The altars are mentioned once more by Plinius [520] :

"After the promontory the Carmanians are adjoined by the Harmozaei, though some authorities place the Arbii between them, stretching all along the coast for 421 miles. Here are the Port of the Macedonians and the Altars of Alexander situated on a promontory".

The promontory mentioned at the top of the list is identical with Cape el-Kuh where the coast-line curves to the north-west. The Harmozaei are the occupants of the district of Harmozaea which belonged to the satrapy of Carmania (= Kirman) [521]. The island of Ormuz, situated opposite to the coast has preserved the ancient name [522]. The authorities, who located the Arbii there, were mistaken. The Arbii are the ancient Abereans, or the Indian Ābhīra tribe, who occupied the Indus delta and the Karachi plateau [523]. As the Port of the Macedonians and the Altars of Alexander are mentioned in connection with their territory, it is evident that the Port of the Macedonians is identical with Alexander's Harbour *alias* Barbaricum *alias* the town of Barce. The altars were

[518] First he sacrificed at the river island called Cilluta, and then at the "island in the sea".

[519] This was the third sacrifice, esp. to Poseidon, and it occurred during the short sea-voyage on the high seas.

[520] Plinius, *Nat. Hist.*, VI, 110.

[521] See Arrianus, *Indica*, 33, 2.

[522] The island of Ormuz, or Hormuz, commands the entrance to the Persian Gulf, and for that reason Alfonso d'Albuquerque took it by force in A.D. 1507. The allied powers of the English and Shah Abbas recovered it in A.D. 1622.

[523] See p. 47-50.

situated on the top of a promontory. It was, without doubt, identical with the "hill they call Eiron" along which Nearchus sailed before putting into Alexander's Harbour, and which according to the Skipper's description was actually a chain of low hills stretching along the coastal strip of the Indus delta to the northward. Between these hills and a low-lying island opposite to the coast lay the Gulf of Barace, which was extremely dangerous owing to its mangrove-swamps. Ships that were drawn into that Gulf were lost, and, probably, the altars of Alexander were erected on the top of the northernmost hill close by the passage to Barbaricum *alias* Barace/Barce in order to serve as a signal for those ships who wanted to put into port [524].

[524] See p. 41-45.

CHAPTER V

HARMATELIA AND RORUKA, THE CAPITAL OF THE SAUVĪRAS

§ 1. The confederation of the Śibi, Sindhu, and Sauvīra tribes

When Draupadī, the common wife of the five Pāṇḍavas, was carried off by Jayadratha, king of the Sindhus and Sauvīras, she asked him : "Is it really true that you rule in accordance with the Dharma as supreme king over the prosperous Śibis, Sauvīras, Sindhus, and the other tribes?" [525]; and in another passage belonging to the same story these three tribes are mentioned once more : "However, despondency arose among the Śibis, the Sauvīras, and the Sindhus" [526].

As the Sindhus evidently occupied the lower valley of the Indus, or *Sindhu*, it seems worth-while studying the geographical location of the territories belonging to these tribes.

The Śibi tribe

The Śibis seem to have played the most prominent part in Jayadratha's confederation, because Koṭikāsya, the *Śaibya*, was the king's special councillor [527]. In fact, in the *Harivaṃśa* Śibi is said to have been the ancestor of four tribes, to which a.o. the Suvīras belonged [528] :

[525] *Mahābhārata*, III, 267, 11, see Lüders, *Beiträge S.P.A.W.*, p. 54 (= Lüders, *Phil. Ind.*, p. 648). Obviously, Lüders quotes after the so-called Bombay edition (Gonapat Krishnaji, Śaka 1799). The Kumbakonam edition (T.R. Krishnacharya and T.R. Vyasacharya, Bombay, 1910) shows the same reading, viz. in *Mahābh.* III, 268, 11. The critical edition (V.S. Sukthankar, Poona, 1942) drops this passage, see note on *Mahābh.* III, 251, 10. P.P.S. Sastri's Madras edition mentions the Śibis and Sauvīras, but *not* the Sindhus, see *ibidem*, *Mahābh.* III, 221, 12.

[526] *Mahābhārata*, III, 271, 3, see Lüders, *Beiträge S.P.A.W.*, p. 54 (= Lüders, *Phil. Ind.*, p. 648). The critical edition (III, 255, 3) as well as the Madras and Kumbakonam editions (resp. III, 225,3 and III, 227,3) mention the Śibis, Sindhus, and Trigartas.

[527] *Mahābhārata*, III, 262-272; see Lüders, *Beiträge S.P.A.W.*, p. 54 (= Lüders, *Phil. Ind.*, p. 648).

[528] *Harivaṁśa*, I, 31, 29 sqq., see Lüders, *Beiträge S.P.A.W.*, p. 54 (= Lüders, *Phil. Ind.*, p. 648).

"Śibi had four sons, heroes, famous throughout the Three Worlds, viz. Vṛṣadarbha, Suvīra, Madraka, and Kaikaya, and their prosperous territories were called Kaikaya, Madraka, Vṛṣadarbha, and Suvīra".

In this respect it is conspicuous that in the Ṛg-veda only the Śivas (= Śibis) are mentioned together with the Aliṇas, Pakhtas, Bhalānasas, and Viśāṇins as members of a confederation which was defeated by Sudās, king of the Bhāratas [529].

Whatever the actual area of the Śivas, or Śibis, may have been in Ṛgvedic times, it is, in my opinion, certain that they occupied the plain of Gandhāra at the time of Alexander's invasion.

In the Buddhist Sivi Jātaka the town of Ariṭṭhapura is said to have been the capital of king Sivi. The town is identical with Shahbazgarhi, which is situated in the centre of the plain of Gandhāra between Charsada (Greek : Peucelaotis; Sanskrit : Puṣkalāvatī) and Und (Greek : Bandobene, or Uandabanda; Sanskrit : U(n)dabhāṇḍa) on the Indus river. In Arrianus's *Anabasis Alexandri* Ariṭṭhapura is called "Orobatis", and Ptolemaeus has handed down the best reading of the name, viz. Aristobathra, which corresponds to Sanskrit Ariṣṭapura [530].

In the Vessantara Jātaka prince Vessantara is said to be the son of Sañjaya, king of Sivi. Sometimes the prince himself is called king of Siviraṭṭha, viz. the country, *raṭṭha*, of Sivi, and his children are designated as Siviputtā, viz. sons, *puttā*, of Sivi. When the Chinese pilgrims Sung yün (A.D. 519), and Hsüan tsang (pilgrimage : A.D. 629-645) visited Ariṭṭhapura, they were shown a great many spots sacred to the memory of the generous prince [531].

I am certainly not prepared to suggest that the legends contrived by Sung yün's and Hsüan tsang's guides should be believed in, but on the other hand I feel that the Sivi and Vessantara Jātakas have a historical kernel in so far as they stress the preponderance of Śibi rule in Gandhāra during the early period of Buddhism.

Buddhist missionary propaganda started in this region in 258 B.C., when Aśoka proclaimed his intention to conquering the world by means of the Dharma, viz. the *Dharmavijaya*. In the next year he caused a complete set of the famous Rock Edicts to be inscribed on a rock lying about half a mile distant from Shahbazgarhi, viz. ancient Ariṭṭhapura. In the course of the next years of the Maurya period (317-186 B.C.)

[529] *Ṛgveda*, VII, 18, 7.
[530] As to Aristobathra, see Ptolemaeus's list of Indo-Scythian towns at p. 10-11.
[531] See Eggermont, *Alexander*, p. 68-75, and p. 83-90.

Gandhāra was completely buddhisized [532]. The earliest versions of the Sivi and Vessantara Jātakas must be expected to date from that period, and as the linguistic and ethnological situation in Gandhāra does not seem to have changed very much in the seventy years' period between the invasion of Alexander and Aśoka's conversion, one may draw from this *argumentum ex silentio* the conclusion that the warrior caste ruling over Gandhāra belonged to the Śibi tribe. Of course, by itself this reasoning is not conclusive, but there are other arguments in its favour.

When during his expedition in the Punjab Alexander moved southward along the western bank of the Jhelum and the Chenab rivers, he came across a tribe called the Sibian. In Curtius's version this incident is described as follows [533] :

"They had come into the country where the Hydaspes unites with the Acesines. From there the river flows into the country of the Sibi. These people allege that their forefathers belonged to the army of Hercules; that being left behind on account of sickness, they had gained possession of the abode in which their posterity were living. They dressed in the skins of wild beasts, their weapons were clubs, and they also showed many traces of their origin, although Greek customs had become obsolete. Having made a landing there, he went on for a distance of 250 stadia, and after devastating the region, by an assault on all sides took the town which was its capital.

Another nation had opposed 40,000 foot-soldiers on the bank of the rivers [534]; Alexander crossed the Acesines, drove them within their walls, and took their town by assault. Those of military age were put to death, the rest were sold".

The Alexander historians used to regard the Acesines, Sanskrit *Asiknī*, or "Black one", modern : Chenab, as the main tributary of the Indus, and therefore it kept its name throughout down to its conjunction with the Indus, whereas the other tributaries lost their names as soon as they had joined the Acesines. From the context it appears that this sept of the Śibi tribes lived on the right, or western, bank of the Chenab below its conjunction with the Jhelum, viz. in the so-called Sind Sagar Doab.

The geographical location of their area is corroborated by Diodorus's version [535] :

"When they came to the junction of the Acesines and the Hydaspes, he disembarked his soldiers and led them against the people called Sibians. They say

[532] Lamotte, *op. cit.*, p. 327 : "La région fut entièrement bouddhisée à l'époque Maurya".

[533] Curtius, *Hist. Alex.*, IX, 4, 1-6.

[534] The united Acesines-Hydaspes is hinted at.

[535] Diodorus, *Bibl. Hist.*, XVII, 96, 1-3.

that these are the descendants of the soldiers who came with Heracles to the rock of Aornus and were unsuccessful in its siege, and then were settled in this spot by him. Alexander encamped beside a very fine city, and the leading notables of the citizens came out to see him. They were brought before the king, renewed their ties of kinship, and undertook to help him enthusiastically in every way, as being his relatives. They also brought him magnificent gifts. Alexander accepted their goodwill, declared their cities to be free, and marched on against the next tribe.

He found that the Agalasseis, as they were called were drawn up in battle formation. Their strength was 40,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry. He engaged them and, conquering, cut down most of them. Those who escaped into the neighbouring cities he besieged, captured, and sold as slaves".

It appears that the Śibis were cattle-keepers just like their Aryan ancestors in Ṛgvedic times, and that some legends were current among them which connected this sept of Śibis with their fellow-tribesmen in Gandhāra. The rock of Aornus lies in Buner, which is situated to the north of Gandhāra beyond the mountain range which separates it from the Gandhāran plain. The Chinese pilgrim Fa hsien (pilgrimage A.D. 399-414) calls the district Su-ho-to, and he tells that there the Bodhisattva cut off a piece of his own flesh in order to ransom a dove which was caught by a hawk. Two centuries later Hsüan tsang saw the spot where a stūpa was built. He says that the Bodhisattva was the pious king Sivika. Hsüan tsang's accurate geographical notes enabled Sir Aurel Stein to identify the stūpa of Sivika with one among the ruined stupas near Girarai, a hamlet situated about 5 miles to the south-west of Jowar. It lies in a broad open valley which is connected with the tracts leading to Shahbazgarhi *alias* ancient Ariṭṭhapura by the Girarai and Banjir passes [536].

It seems that the Śibi legend of the siege of Aornus [537] points to a tribal war during which the Śibis had tried in vain to occupy the whole

[536] See Eggermont, *Alexander*, p. 88.

[537] Sir Aurel Stein identified it with the ridge of Pīr-sar, which is situated to the north-east of Gunangar on the Indus in Buner, see Stein, *Alex. to Indus*, p. 120-154, and idem, *Tour Upper Swat*, p. 66-94. Scholars have got used to adopting Stein's opinion ever since, see e.g. Eggermont, *Alexander*, p. 91, and Munshi, *Imp. Unity*, p. 47, note 1 : "The great controversy over the identification of Aornus, a solitary rock about 7,000 ft. high washed by the Sindhu, has been set at rest by Sir Aurel Stein". However, the approval is not unanimous, see Robson, *op. cit.*, I, p. XV-XVI (*A Geographical Note*) : "The diversion so far up the Indus appears unnecessary". and Caroe, *op. cit.*, p. 55 : "The grounds on which he bases his identification, topographical and phonetic, are extraordinarily convincing, but must be read in his own words. Here it need only be said that the Pirsar Rock is on the very outside edge of Pathan country, though now included in Swat State".

area of Buner. Anyway at Alexander's times there were no Śibis in Buner. The region was occupied by members of the *Darada* tribe, who earned their livelihood by gold-washing and gold-trading. Alexander took their city, Dyrta, and then he defeated their allies, who had come to their aid from Udyāna, or the middle Swat valley [538].

Whereas Curtius stresses that Alexander took the Sibian capital on the bank of the Chenab by sheer force, Diodorus suggests that the Śibi welcomed Alexander as an ally. However, both the authors are agreed that there was hard fighting against their neighbours, the Agalasseis. They occupied the left, or eastern, bank of the Chenab, which appears from the fact that Alexander had to cross the Acesines in order to get there. Together with the Sibians they are mentioned once more by Justinus [539] :

"From there Alexander went on to the Acesines river, and along this river he sailed down to the Ocean. There he accepted the surrender of the Agensonae and the Sibi, settled there by Hercules".

The manuscripts show a great many variant readings of Agensonae, viz. Accensonae, Acensanae, Agesinae, Ageni [540]. From these readings it follows that the Macedonians had called them after the Acesines river. In contrast to the name of the Śibi it is no tribal name. For that reason it is possible that they belonged to the Śibi tribe as well.

Arrianus has failed to mention the Śibis in his *Anabasis Alexandri*, and in his *Indica* he has explained why he preferred dropping the stories connected with them [541] :

'Yet the story of the rock Aornos, which Alexander forced, namely, that Hercules could not capture it, I am inclined to think a Macedonian boast ... Among the Sibae, too, an Indian tribe, having noticed them clad with skins, they used to assert that they were relics of Heracles' expedition".

Strabo shared Arrianus's misgivings [542] :

"When Alexander, at one assault, took Aornus, a rock at the foot of which, near its sources, the Indus River flows, his exalters said that Heracles thrice attacked this rock and thrice was repulsed; and that the Sibae were descendants

[538] See Supplement I, p. 182.

[539] Justinus, *Epitoma*, XII, 9, 1-2. Diodorus's "Agalasseis" represents just another variant reading derived from earlier "Aganasseis", as in Greek majuscule script the *Λ* can be confused with *N*.

[540] Seel, *op. cit.*, p. 114, note.

[541] Arrianus, *Indica*, 5, 10-12.

[542] Strabo, *Geogr.*, XV, 1, 8-9.

of those who shared with Heracles in the expedition, and that they retained badges of their descent, in that they wore skins like Heracles, carried clubs, and branded their cattle and mules with the mark of a club ... But that these stories are fabrications of the flatterers of Alexander is obvious; first, not only from the fact that the historians do not agree with one another, and also because, while some relate them, others make no mention whatever of them; for it is unreasonable to believe that exploits so famous and full of romance were unknown to any historian, or, if known, that they were regarded as unworthy of recording, and that too by the most trustworthy of the historians".

In fact, these "flatterers of Alexander" were identical with the authors of the various Alexander romances. From these sources historians like Curtius and Diodorus had borrowed tales such as Alexander's sojourn at Nysa [543], and the siege of Harmatelia. Most probably, Diodorus had derived from such-like sources the information that the Śibi had welcomed Alexander, as being his relatives.

However, Arrianus was wrong when he passed over in silence further particulars regarding the Śibis only because the story was wrapped up in a romantic cover. Vogel has shown that actually the Śibis had occupied the territory indicated by the Alexander historians [544].

In 1906 about a dozen ancient utensils among which a copper cauldron bearing an inscription in Gupta script were found at a short distance from the town of Shōrkōṭ. The inscription runs as follows :

"In the year 83, in (the month) Māgha, the bright fortnight, the fifth day, dedicated by the *vaiyābṛityakara* [545] Buddhadāsa to the universal congregation of the Sarvāstivādin sect at the Rādhika convent in the park of Śibipura".

The inscription dates from the year A.D. 403. The ancient name of *Śibipura*, or Śibi-town, was contracted to modern *Shōr*, to which the word *kōṭ*, or fort, was added like it has happened with the names of many other towns in the Punjab [546]. Nowadays the town of Shorkot is situated in the Rechna Doab, viz. the fork between the left bank of the Chenab and the right bank of the Ravi, but in c. 325 B.C. the situation was quite different. At the time it lay on the right bank of the Chenab in the Sind Sagar Doab.

[543] See p. 3.

[544] Vogel, *Shorkot*, p. 15-17.

[545] *i.e. vaiyāpṛityakara* = Pali *veyyāvacchakara*, or an agent, one who does business, or executes a commission for another; here he is some functionary in connection with a Buddhist monastery, see Vogel, *Shorkot*, p. 15.

[546] The *Śivapaurāḥ*, or citizens of Śivapura (= Śibipura), are mentioned in the Purāṇas, see p. 182, and *ibidem*, note 705.

Apart from the Śibis of Gandhāra, and the Śibis of the Sind Sagar Doab there was a third group occupying the borderland between the Indus valley and the plateau of Iran. In this connection I should like to remind of Sambus, who had been appointed by Alexander satrap of of the Indian hillmen [547].

I have shown that he was the ruler of the mountainous territory through which the ancient caravan route ran form Kandahar by the Khojak and Bolan passes, and by the modern towns of Sibi and Shikarpur towards Alor on the Indus, the ancient capital of king Musicanus. Sambus was the same person as "Samaxus", a prince (*regulus*), who served in the army of Barsaentes, satrap of Arachosia. Together with Barsaentes he was taken prisoner by Alexander, but the Macedonian conqueror allowed him to continue his rule, because he was eager to get control of the line of communication between Kandahar and Alor on the Indus. The variant readings of his name are, apart from "Samaxus": "Sabbas", and "Sabus". The name of his capital was "Sindimana", most probably an eparchy name derived from "Sindima-". As the Alexander historians used to call the Indian kings and chieftains after their territories, cities, tribes &c., it follows that all these names represent variant readings of some Greek transcription of a native name. In this respect there is among the various names listed by the Indian sources only one that can be considered, viz. "Śibi", or its equivalent "Śiva". One can compare the name with readings like "Sabbas", and "Sabus", and, moreover the *i* in the first syllable is represented by the *i* in the variant reading "Sindimana".

In conclusion I should like to state that in c. 325 B.C. the Śibis were a powerful tribe. Their main group was settled in the Quetta-Pishin area, in the Kacchi plain, and in the mountainous Marri and Bugti countries, where they controlled the caravan trade between Kandahar and Alor on the Indus. A second group occupied the Sind Sagar Doab between the Indus and the Chenab, and, perhaps, the Rechna Doab as well (*i.e.* the Agensonae between the Chenab and Ravi). Moreover, members of their *kṣatriya* caste ruled in various towns of Gandhāra, like Ariṭṭhapura, well-known as the residence of king Sivi and his son, prince Vessantara. In view of their geographical location they must be supposed to have represented the northernmost tribe in the legendary confederation of Śibis, Sindhus, and Sauvīras under the supreme command of Jayadratha.

[547] See p. 16-22.

Sindhu and the Achaemenid satrapy of Hinduš

In the Puranic literature the Sindhus are always connected with the Sauvīras either in a co-ordinative compound consisting of three members, the last one being the Madras [548], or as separate substantives provided with the plural ending [549]. The close connection between the Sindhus and the Sauvīras is a historical fact. They are mentioned in that order in the Junagarh inscription of the Indo-Scythian satrap Rudradāman dating from A.D. 150 [550].

In the Mahābhārata Jayadratha is indiscriminately called king of the Sindhus, king of the Sauvīras, or king of the Sauvīras *and* the Sindhus, but there is no doubt that they represent different geographical units [551]. Lüders has shown that in the Mahābhārata there is a story about a war between the Sauvīra Sañjaya and the king of the Sindhus [552].

Sindhu means a stream, a river, and in particular the Indus river, but likewise it denotes the territory of the lower Indus valley, or modern Sind [553]. Therefore, the appellation *Saindhavāḥ*, means "inhabitants of the lower Indus valley". If Jayadratha is called *Saindhavako rājā*, or *Sindhurājā*, he is designated as resp. "Lord of the people of Sind" and "Lord of Sind". In this respect Sindhu is no tribal name at all. *It denotes a geographical unit to which different tribes may belong.*

The first historical lord of Sind known by name was Darius I the Great (522-486 B.C.). He conquered it some time before 513 B.C., and formed it into the satrapy of *Hinduš* [554]. This satrapy figures in Herodotus's list of Persian fiscal districts [555];

"The Indians, the most populous nation in the known world, paid the largest sum : 360 talents of gold-dust. It is the twentieth district".

The Persians coined the name of Hinduš after the current Sanskrit geographical name of Sindhu. Neither the Old Persian inscriptions, nor the Avesta make use of the word *hindu* in the sense of "river" [556].

[548] *Sindhu-Sauvīra-Madrakāḥ*, see p. 49, note 200.

[549] *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, II, 3, 17 : *Sauvīrāḥ Saindhavāḥ*; cf. Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

[550] E.I., VIII, p. 44; see also Gonda, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

[551] Lüders, *Beiträge S.P.A.W.*, p. 53-54 (= Lüders, *Phil. Ind.*, p. 647).

[552] *Mahābhārata*, V, 133, 4; V, 134,4. See Lüders, *Beiträge S.P.A.W.*, p. 53 (& Lüders, *Phil. Ind.*, p. 646-647).

[553] Monier-Williams, *Dictionary*, p. 1217, column 1.

[554] Olmstead, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

[555] Herodotus, *Historiae*, III, 94.

[556] In Christensen's opinion *Hapta həndu*, or the Seven rivers, occurring in *Vendidad* I, 18, was coined after Sanskrit *Sapta sindhavaḥ*, viz. the Indus and its six tributaries, only during the Hellenistic period, see Christensen, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

The Old Persian inscriptions do not give any details concerning the extent of this province, but as Alexander the Great used to maintain the Persian administrative organization, we know that Hinduš *alias* Sindhu comprised the lower Indus valley from the conjunction of the Indus and the Chenab down to the coast-line of the Indus delta [557] :

"As satrap of the country from the meeting of the Indus and the Acesines up to the sea, with all the coast-line of the country of India, he appointed Oxyartes with Peitho".

From this fact it follows that the name of *Saindhavāḥ*, or *Sindhavāḥ* covers a heterogeneous complex of tribes, towns, or whatever else. They had in common only that they occupied the territory from Uch in the north down to the coast of the delta.

The Sauvīra tribe

In contrast to the Saindhavas the Sauvīras bear a tribal name, derived from Sanskrit *suvīra*, or "hero, warrior, lit .: good man". Although in general they are mentioned together with the Saindhavas, they are for once connected with the Ābhīra tribe in the next passage belonging to the Bhāgavata Purāṇa [558] :

"Śauri, the mighty ruler, the descendant from Bhṛgu, bade resolutely farewell to the affectionate Kauravas, who had come from afar, and who were distressed because of this separation, and, together with a few friends, he went forth towards his native town. He passed by the jungle of the Kurus and Pāñcālas, the Śūrasenas and those who dwell on the banks of the Yamunā, Brahmāvarta, the field of the Kurus, the Matsyas and those who dwell near the Sarasvatī river, and the desert of Maru. His horses were only slightly tired when, finally, he arrived at the Ānartas beyond the Sauvīras and Ābhīras".

Lüders, who first discussed this text, suggests that Kṛṣṇa had gone from Mathurā on the Yamunā northward towards the region of the Sarasvatī river. Then he had crossed the Thar desert, and after having ridden through the lower Indus valley for some time, he had finally turned towards Dvārakā, his native town in Surāṣṭra [559]. Relying on Ptolemaeus's information on "Aberia ... beyond Patalene" [560] he explain-

[557] Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, VI, 15, 4; see also p. 5.

[558] *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, I, 10, 33-35.

[559] Lüders, *Beiträge S.P.A.W.*, p. 55 (= Lüders, *Phil. Ind.*, p. 648) : "Auf dem Wege von Ānarta in Kāthiāwār nach der Wüste von Mārwār oder Jodhpur muss also das Land der Sauvīras gelegen haben, doch lässt sich von diesem Gebiete mit Sicherheit Cutch ausscheiden ..."

[560] See p. 49.

ed Kṛṣṇa's visit to the lower Indus valley by the hypothesis that the Ābhīras occupied the south-eastern portion of Sind to the north of the Indus delta. For that reason the Sauvīras should be supposed to have occupied the adjacent area.

Meanwhile I have shown that Ptolemaeus's notion about the location of the Abereans was based on the pseudo-geographical literature current in his times. The only reliable information is supplied by Arrianus, who located them in the coastal region of the Indus delta between the eastern-most Indus branch and the Hab river [561]. What remains is the interesting point that the author of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa seems to know that the Ābhīras were Saindhavas, which appears from his replacing the traditional compound *Sindhu-Sauvīra-* by *Sauvīrābhīra-*. As to the Sauvīras, it is certain that they were no Saindhavas at all. In the legend of Jayadratha's confederation the Sindhus, Śibis, and Sauvīras rank equally. The Sindhus were the inhabitants of the lower Indus valley, the Śibis occupied the mountainous borderland between proper Sind and the plateau of Iran, the Ābhīras belonged to the Saindhavas, and as, moreover, these Ābhīras seem to have been neighbours of the Sauvīras, *the only remaining area left to the Sauvīras must be the plain of Las Bela beyond the Hab river.*

The Buddhist canon has preserved from oblivion the next important passage on the Sauvīras [562] :

"Dantapura of the Kālingas, and Potana for the Assakas, Māhissatī for the Avantis, and *Roruka in the Sovīra land.* Mithilā of the Videhas, and then Campā among the Aṅgas, lastly Benares in the Kāsi realm ... And the seven kings were named : Sattabhu and Brahmadatta, Vessabhu with Bharata, Reṇu and two Dhaṭaraṭṭhas : These are the seven Bhāratas".

From this text it follows that Bharata was supposed to have been king of the Sovīra country, and that his capital was the town of Roruka.

In another Buddhist text, *Questions of king Milinda*, Sovīra is mentioned once more [563] :

"Just, o king, as a shipowner, who has become wealthy by constantly levying freight in some seaport town, will be able to traverse the high seas, and go to Vanga, Takkola, or China, or Sovīra, or Surat, or Alexandria, or the Koromandel coast, or Further India, or any other place where ships do congregate — just so, o king, it is he who in former births has undertaken and practised,

[561] See p. 47-50, and p. 127.

[562] *Dīghanikāya*, II, 235-236 (Mahā-Govinda Sutta); see Rhys Davids, *Dialogues*, p. 270.

[563] *Milinda-pañha*, VI, 21; see Rhys Davids, *Milinda*, II, p. 269.

followed and carried out, observed, framed his conduct according to, and fulfilled these thirteen vows, who acquires all the results of the life of a recluse, and all its ecstacy of peace and bliss becomed his very own".

From these two passages Lüders concluded that the territory of the Sovīras, or Sauvīras extended along the Arabian Sea, and in this connection he states [564]:

"It seems that the eastern bank of the lower Indus river belonged to the territory of Sauvīra; however, the question remains how far it stretched westward".

Adopting Lüders' conclusion *with a correction in regard to the eastern frontier of the Sauvīran territory* I should like to state that it coincided more or less with the country of the ancient Oritans, viz. the plain of Las Bela and the adjacent coastal strip extending from the Hab river to the Hingol river.

§ 2. Roruka, the capital of the Sauvīras, and Harmatelia, the capital of the Oritans

Roruka, the capital of the Sauvīras, was well-known in Buddhist literature. Its destruction is described in the *Udrāyaṇāvadāna*, or "the story of king Udrāyaṇa", which belongs to a voluminous compilation of Buddhist narratives, the *Divyāvadāna*, or "Collection of Celestial Stories", written in the IIId century A.D. [565]. The anonymous author of the *Divyāvadāna* had borrowed "the story of king Udrāyaṇa" from the Vinaya of the Hīnayānic sect of the Mūla-Sarvāstivādins, which in its turn was composed in between the IInd and IVth centuries A.D. [566]. The complete Sanskrit version of this Vinaya has got lost. However, we are so fortunate as to have at our disposal Chinese and Tibetan versions of the Vinaya. The Buddhist pilgrim I-tsing translated it into Chinese in between A.D. 703 and 710 [567], and in the beginning of the IXth century Jinamitra and Klui Rgyal-mthsan completed the Tibetan version.

In 1906 Huber was first to publish a summary of the *Udrāyaṇāvadāna* in French [568], and in 1936 Lüders published an extensive survey of its

[564] Lüders, *Beiträge S.P.A.W.*, p. 55 (= Lüders, *Phil. Ind.*, p. 649) : "Das Ostufer des unteren Indus scheint danach Sauvīraland gewesen zu sein; wie weit es sich über den Indus hinaus nach Westen erstreckte, lässt sich nicht sagen.".

[565] Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

[566] Nobel, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. IX, note 3.

[567] Nobel, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. IX.

[568] Huber, *Sources*, p. 12-17.

contents in German [569]. Finally, in 1955, Nobel placed at the disposal of historians an accurate German translation of the Tibetan version, which appears to correspond very well to the Sanskrit one of the *Divyāvadāna* [570].

As the legend contains a great many historio-geographical details, and as to my knowledge there does not seem to exist any summary in English, I should like to place at my reader's disposal the next survey of the contents of the story :

Once the Buddha stayed at the Kalandaka estate in the Bamboo wood near Rājagṛha. 'At the time there were in Jambudvīpa two important cities, viz. Rājagṛha and Roruka. When Rājagṛha declined, Roruka flourished; when Roruka declined, Rājagṛha flourished' [571]. Roruka was governed by king Udrāyaṇa, who was married to queen Candraprabhā. Their son was called Śikhaṇḍin. Moreover, there were two excellent ministers, viz. Heruka and Bhiruka.

One day some merchants from Rājagṛha arrived at Roruka. They told Udrāyaṇa that their own king was Bimbisāra, *who ruled in the eastern country*. Thereupon Udrāyaṇa sent Bimbisāra a box full of costly jewels. In return Bimbisāra sent a packing-case full of costly garments. Thereupon Udrāyaṇa sent his own cuirass stuck with jewels. Consequently Bimbisāra was at a loss what to do. Finally, on the Buddha's advise he sent in return a picture representing the Buddha, and provided with an inscription on the Four Truths.

Having meditated on the essence of Buddhism Udrāyaṇa was converted, and in a letter he asked Bimbisāra to send him a teacher. On the Buddha's advise Mahākātyāyana, accompanied by 500 monks, went to Roruka. Many people were converted, a.o. two pious householders, called Tiṣya and Puṣya. They became Arhants, and when they died two stūpas were erected over their ashes.

On behalf of the women the nun Śailā, accompanied by 500 nuns, went to Roruka. Thereupon queen Candraprabhā was converted. Shortly afterward the queen died, and was reborn in the Heaven of the Four Guardians. One night she went to Udrāyaṇa, and urged him to become a monk. Then the king abdicated, and went to Rājagṛha, where he was admitted by the Buddha into the monastic order. Prince Śikhaṇḍin ascended the throne, but he turned out to be a bad ruler. He dismissed the pious ministers Heruka and Bhiruka, and he replaced them by two mischievous councillors.

When Udrāyaṇa heard the bad news, he went back to Roruka. For fear lest they might lose their influence the bad councillors advised Śikhaṇḍin to kill him. However, the murderers sent out to intercept him killed him only after having allowed him to become an Arhant during his last meditation. Therefore Śikhaṇḍin became guilty of a twofold crime, viz. parricide and

[569] Lüders, *Beiträge S.P.A.W.*, p. 40-44 (= Lüders, *Phil. Ind.*, p. 632-637).

[570] Nobel, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 49-112.

[571] In the *Divyavādāna* and in I-tsing's translation of the Vinaya the name of Rājagṛha has been replaced by Pāṭaliputra.

murder of an Arhant. In order to salve the prince's conscience the two bad councillors resorted to intricate intrigues. They persuaded the queen-mother to announce that she had consorted with many men, and that Udrāyaṇa was not Śikhaṇḍin's father. Having disproved the charge of parricide the councillors had still to cope with the charge of the murder of an Arhant. Then they trained two cats to hide themselves in the holes of the stūpas of the Arhants Tiṣya and Puṣya, and to appear as soon as they showed them a piece of meat. Then they summoned the citizens of Roruka, and said : 'Tiṣya and Puṣya, listen! As truly as you have cheated the citizens, and as truly as you have eaten the offerings, and as truly as you have been reborn as cats, you will get a piece of meat, circumambulate your stūpas, and return to your holes'.' When the cats left their hiding-places, the citizens went angry, and ceased believing in Arhants. They ceased supporting the Buddhist nuns and monks as well, and all the members of the order left Roruka with the exception of Mahākātyāyana and Śailā.

One day Mahākātyāyana entered the town in order to beg. Śikhaṇḍin saw him, and , enraged, he ordered the citizens to throw dust upon the Arhant. As all the citizens participated in the crime, there grew a high sand-hill within a short time. However, the Arhant remained unhurt because by magic power he had created a shelter around himself inside the sand-hill. Some pious herdsmen had seen what happened. They reported it to the former councillors Heruka and Bhiruka. Later they removed the pile of sand, and when Mahākātyāyana was rescued, he predicted the utter destruction of the town and of its inhabitants. However, to Heruka, Bhiruka, and the herdsmen he said : 'Dear Sirs, dig a subterraneous passage [572] from your palace to the river, and get a boat ready near it; as soon as it starts raining jewels, you must fill the boat with it, and get away'! Thereupon Heruka put his son Śyāmaka under the care of the Arhant, and said : 'Noble one, if he possesses the essence of good *karma*, you may admit him into the order; if not, you may keep him as a servant.'. Bhiruka put his daughter Śyāmāvatī under the care of the sun Śailā, and asked her to accompany his daughter to the town of Kauśāmbī to the house of Ghoṣila, a friend of his.

The same day a gale cleared the town from all the stones and gravel. The next day it rained flowers, the third day garments, the fourth day silver, and the fifth day gold. Then all the countrymen poured into the town, and 'after they had entered the town it started raining jewels on the sixth day. Heruka and Bhiruka filled their boat with jewels and took to flight. *In a certain country*

[572] The Sanskrit word is *surunigā*, derived from Greek *syrinx*, *σῦριγξ*. In India Alexander the Great was first to have used an underground passage, *cuniculum*, during the siege of the strongest city of Sambus, see p. 19-20. Liebich, *op. cit.*, p. 431-434, shows that the syrinx, and the camel, *Camelus Dromedarius*, Sanskrit *kramela*, or *kramelaka* derived from Greek *camelus*, *κάμηλος*,were introduced by the Hellenistic armies at a very early period, because the *e* of *camelus* proves that Iotacism, viz. the pronunciation of *e*, *η*, as *i*, *ι*, which is a characteristic of the Greek language in the Hellenistic period, was still unknown.

Heruka founded a town called Herukaccha, and in another country Bhiruka founded the town of Bhirukaccha [573].

The seventh day it began raining dust, and Roruka and all the citizens were buried by it. Just in time Mahākātyanaya escaped by way of the air, and together with him the town-goddess and Śyāmaka, who had seized hold of the Arhant's frock. The Saint landed at a market-town, called Kharavana [574]. There the town-goddess remained behind. She erected a stūpa over a goblet which Kātyāyana had presented to her, and she instituted the so-called festival of the goblet. From there Kātyāyana and Śyāmaka flew over a country which nowadays is called Lambaka because the people saw Śyāmaka hanging on the Saint's frock during the flight, and said : 'He hangs, he hangs' [575]. Then they landed at a market-town the king of which had recently died. The inhabitants appointed Śyāmaka as king, and for that reason the kingdom is called Śyāmāka [576]. Kātyāyana flew to Bokkāna, his native country, where he converted his mother [577]. She built a stūpa, and fixed Kātyāyana's walking-stick on the top of the stūpa, which for that reason is still called the "Stick-Stūpa" [578].

Having arrived in the country of Sindhu the Arhant presented the goddess of the Northern Land with his leather boots (pūla). For that reason the place is still called Pūleśvara (Lord of the leather boots), or Pūlapada (Place of the leather boots) [579]. Then the Arhant went to Śrāvastī [580], where he reported the destruction of Roruka to the congregation of the monks.

Huber's hypothesis : Roruka in Chinese Turkestan

Huber was first to have compared the *Udrāyaṇāvadāna* with a similar story told by Hsüan tsang in connection with his visit to the town of P'i-mo situated between Khotan and Niya in Chinese Turkestan [581].

[573] Bhirukaccha is identical with *Bhṛgukaccha*, Greek *Barygaza*, modern : Broach, situated on the outlet of the Narbada river into the Gulf of Cambay, see Eggermont, *Muruṇḍas*. p. 257-258. As to the identification of Herukaccha, see p. 159-160.

[574] Not identified.

[575] "He hangs" = Sanskrit : *lambate*. The place is called *Lampāka*, and it is identical with Lamghan, situated to the north of the Kabul river in Afghanistan, see Lüders, *Beiträge S.P.A.W.*, p. 48 (= Lüders, *Phil. Ind.*, p. 642), and Nobel, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. XVII.

[576] *Śyāmāka* is identical with modern Chitral, the valley of the upper Kunar river, a northern tributary of the Kabul river, see Nobel, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. XVII.

[577] *Bokkāna*, or *Vokkāṇa*, is identical with modern Wakhan, the country in the extreme north-north-east of Afghanistan.

[578] The *yaṣṭi-stūpa*, or "stick-stupa" is not identified.

[579] Not identified, see extensive comment by Nobel, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 104, note 9, and p. 105, note 1.

[580] Identified with Saheth-Maheth, situated just to the right of the road from Balarampur to Bahraich, on the borders of Gonda and Bahraich districts in Uttara Pradesh, see Law, *Śrāvastī*, p. 1.

[581] See Huber, *Roruka*, p. 335-340, and Beal, *op. cit.*, II, p. 322-324. Marco Polo was there, and called the town Pein, see Yule, *op. cit.*, I, p. 191-193, and II, appendix M.

There Hsüan tsang saw a statue of the Buddha, made of sandal-wood, and twenty feet in hight. The natives told him the next story :

"This image in old days when Buddha was alive was made by Udāyana, king of Kauśāmbī. When Buddha left the world, it mounted of its own accord into the air and came to the north of this kingdom, to the town of Ho-lo-lo-kia. The men of this city were rich and prosperous, and deeply attached to heretical teaching, with no respect for any other form of religion. From the time the image came there it showed its divine character, but no one paid it respect.

Afterwards there was an Arhant who bowed down and saluted the image; the people of the country were alarmed at his strange appearance and dress, and they hastened to tell the king. The king issued a decree that the stranger should be covered with sand and earth. At this time the Arhat's body being covered with sand, he sought in vain for food as nourishment. There was a man whose heart was indignant at such treatment; he had himself always respected the image and honoured it with worship, and now seeing the Arhat in this condition, he secretly gave him food. The Arhat being on the point of departure, adressed the man and said : 'Seven days hence there will be a rain of sand and earth which will fill this city full, and there will in a brief space be none left alive. You ought to take measures for escape in knowledge of this. They have covered me with earth, and this is the consequence to them.'. Having said that he departed, disappearing in a moment.

The man, entering the city, told the tidings to his relatives, but they did nothing but mock at him. The second day a great wind suddenly arose, which carried before it all the dirty soil, whilst there fell various precious substances. Then the men continued to revile the man who had told them. But this man, knowing in his heart what must certainly happen, excavated for himself an underground passage leading outside the city, and there lay concealed. On the seventh day, in the evening, just after the division of the night, it rained sand and earth, and filled the city. This man escaped through his tunnel and went to the east, and, arriving in this country, he took his abode in Pima.

Scarcely had the man arrived when the statue also appeared there. He forthwith paid it worship in this place and dared not go farther. According to the old account it is said : 'When the law of Śākya is extinct then this image will enter the dragon-palace'.

The town of Ho-lo-lo-kia is now a great sand mound. The kings of the neighbouring countries and persons in power from distant spots have many times wished to excavate the mound and take away the precious things buried there; but as soon as they have arrived at the borders of the place, a furious wind has sprung up, dark clouds have gathered together from the four quarters of heaven, and they have become lost to find their way".

In Huber's opinion the sand-buried town of Ho-lo-lo-kia was identical with Roruka. Apart from the similarity of the Indian and the Turkestani versions of the legend Huber's main argument in favour of Roruka's location in Turkestan is that in the system of Hsüan tsang the syllable *ho* before *ra* is not pronounced so that *Lao-lo-kia* (= Lo-lo-kia) represents

the exact Chinese counterpart of Sanskrit *Rau-ru-ka* (= Prakrit *Roruka*) [582].

However, as early as the year 1915 Miss Lulius van Goor showed that Huber's hypothesis was disproved by the evidence of the Indian version of the legend. The merchants who had gone to the court of Udrāyaṇa informed him that their own king was Bimbisāra, who ruled in the eastern country [583]. It is evident, therefore, that Roruka was situated to the west of Bimbisāra's country, ancient Magadha, or modern South Bihar, whereas Chinese Turkestan lies beyond the Himalaya far to the north-west of Magadha [584].

Meanwhile Sten Konow has shown conclusively that Roruka should not be sought for in Chinese Turkestan [585]. Hsüan tsang's Buddhist guides in P'i-mo were familiar with the Indian version of the *Udrayaṇā-vadāna*, and they had adapted its contents to the situation in Turkestan. Many centuries ago there was a flourishing town in the Lop Nor region. It was the capital of the kingdom of Krorayina, Chinese : Lou-lan. When in the beginning of the IVth century A.D. the Tarim river shifted its course, the town was abandoned, and buried by sand. These sand-hills mark the spot which in the VIIth century A.D. the citizens of P'i-mo identified with ancient Roruka. Under the disguise of *Raurata* the name of Roruka figures in a document dating from the VIIIth century A.D. It is a list of places which an envoy of the Khotanese king Sarau Viṣ̣ambhata passed by during his journey from Khotan to Ṣacū, viz. Tun-huang. From the enumeration of the successive stages of this journey it appears that *Raurata* was situated near the sand-buried ancient capital of the Krorayina kingdom, and moreover, from a linguistic point of view *Raurata* corresponds to Sanskrit *Rauruka*, or Prakrit *Roruka*, because in the Śaka language *o* is commonly rendered by *au*, and intervocalic *k* by *t*.

Luders' hypothesis : Roruka and Alor in Sind

Lüders has pointed out that the town of Roruka should be sought for in India because the source material of the legend is related to the

[582] Huber, *Roruka*, p. 337.

[583] See p. 149 : passage printed in italics.

[584] Lulius van Goor, *op. cit.*, p. 236-241, and esp. p. 240. See also *ibidem*, p. 168, note 1, on the nun Śailā, who is mentioned in the Roruka legend. She was the daughter of the king of Āḷavī, and for that reason her surname was Āḷavikā. In Pali she is called Selā.

[585] Konow, *op. cit.*, p. 136-141.

various Brahmanical accounts about the origin of the Daṇḍaka forest [586]. According to the version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* king Daṇḍa ruled over the region between the Vindhya and Śaivala, where he founded the town of Madhumanta. One day he paid a visit to the hermitage of the Rishi Bhārgava, and as the saint was absent, he raped his daughter. When Bhārgava learnt what had happened, he called down a curse upon king Daṇḍa : within seven days a sand-storm was to destroy the king, the people, and the whole kingdom. He himself and his friends left the hermitage, the region was destroyed as he had predicted, and later it was called the Daṇḍaka forest [587].

The Buddhists were familiar with these stories. In the *Mahāvastu* a similar account is connected with the seer Vatsa. He went from the Himalaya to Govardhana, the capital of king Daṇḍaki. The cruel king trampled him in the mud, but a good councillor dug him out. Vatsa advised him to leave the kingdom at once, because in seven days there would be a great calamity. The councillor took to flight, and on the seventh day demons reduced the city and the kingdom to ashes [588].

As, therefore, the source material used by the author of the *Udrāyaṇāvadāna* points to India, and as, moreover, other Buddhist sources [589] seemed to connect Roruka with the territory of the Sauvīras, Lüders brought into prominence some data concerning the location of the Sauvīras which are handed down by Albērūnī (A.D. 973-1048) in his History of India [590]. The latter supplies two lists of Indian tribes, which he had borrowed from resp. the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, and the *Bṛhat-Saṃhitā*. In the first list Alberūnī quotes the next names [591] :

"The people in the north : Vāhlīka, Vāḍha, Vāna, Ābhīra, Kalatoyaka, Aparānta, Pahlava, Carmakhaṇḍika, Gandhāra, Yavana, Sindhu, Sauvīra, *i.e.*

[586] Lüders, *Beiträge S.P.A.W.*, p. 38 (= Lüders, *Phil. Ind.*, p. 629-630). The source material itself was collected by Charpentier, *op. cit.*, p. 224 sqq.

[587] *Rāmāyaṇa*, VII, 79, 5 sqq.

[588] Jones, *Mahāvastu*, III, p. 361 (*Śarabhanga Jātaka*); Lüders, *Beiträge S.P.A.W.*, p. 35-37 (= Lüders, *Phil. Ind.*, p. 626-628.)

[589] See p. 147-148.

[590] Al-Bērūnī (A.D. 973-1048), born at Kāth, capital of Khwārizm, or the region of the Amu-darya delta, contemporary of the famous physician Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), taken prisoner by sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazneh when the latter conquered Khwarizm in 1016, participated in several of Mahmūd's expeditions to north-west India, where he was initiated into Sanskrit and a few dialects. He wrote 180 works on astronomy, chronology, biology, mathematics, physics, geography and history. He completed his Ta'rikhu'lHind, or History of India, in 1030.

[591] Sachau, *Alberuni*, I, p. 300. For the rest the readings quoted by Albērūnī are very corrupt. Compare e.g. the list quoted in n. 200.

Multān and Jahrāvār, Madhra, Śaka, Drihāla, Litta, Malla, Kodara, Ātreya, Bharadva, Jāngala, Daseruka, Lampāka, Tālakūna, Sūlika, Jāgara".

The names of Ābhīra, Yavana, Sindhu, and Sauvīra occur once again in the second list [592] :

"The names of the countries in the south-west : Kāmboja, Sindhu, Sauvīra, *i.e. Multān and Jahrāvār*, Vaḍavāmukha, Āravāmbaṣṭa, Kapila, Pāraśava, *i.e. the Persians*, Sūdra, Barbara, Kirāta, Khaṇḍa, Kravya, Ābhīra, Cañcuka, Hemagiri, Sindhu, Kālaka, Raivataka, Surāṣṭra, Bādara, Dramiḍa, Mahārṇava, Nārīmukha, *i.e. the men with women's faces*, *i.e. the Turks*, Ānarta, Phenagiri, Yavana, *i.e. the Greeks*, Māraka, Karṇaprāvaraṇa".

From the passage "Sauvīra, i.e. Multān and Jahrāvār" Lüders concluded that the territory of the Sauvīras extended from the Indus delta northward up to the southern portion of the Punjab, and in this connection he suggested that the name of the mediaeval town of Alor, or al-Ror, was derived from Roruka, the ancient capital of the Sauvīras [593].

As some scholars are inclined to regard this *suggestion* of Lüder's as a well-established fact [594], I should like to observe that it is anything but proven. First it is certain that not only in c. 325 B.C., but also in the Gupta period the region between Multān and Jahrāwār was occupied by the Śibi tribe, and *not* by the Sauvīras [595], and secondly Lüders has failed to read Sachau's annotation on the relevant passage [596] :

"The Arabic manuscript-tradition is on the whole correct but that the copyist of the Arabic text too, may have contributed in some case to increase the numbers of errors. To some Indian names he has added explanatory glosses, *e.g. Sauvīra*, *i.e.* Multān and Jahrāvār. It is a pity he has done this so sparingly".

If, therefore, the identification represents the private opinion of some Arabic copyist, one is not justified in stressing the value of this note. Probably the copyist had consulted some Indian pundit on that matter, but I doubt whether this informant was more reliable than Hsüan tsang's guides at P'i-mo, who were convinced that Roruka was situated in Turkestan.

[592] Sachau, *Alberuni*, II, p. 302. See also note 591.

[593] Lüders, *Beiträge S.P.A.W.*, p. 55-58 (= Lüders, *Phil. Ind.*, p. 649-652).

[594] Majumdar, *Cunningham's Geogr.*, p. 700; Nobel, *op. cit.*, I, p. XX. See also Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 106 : "Ancient Sauvīra was situated to the east of the Lower Indus and included Multān in the north".

[595] See p. 140-143.

[596] Sachau, *Alberuni*, II, p. 337 : annotations on vol. I, p. 300-303.

Roruka, an ancient seaport of the Sauvīras

The Jains have contrived their own version of the Buddhist story of king Udrāyaṇa. It was written down by Devendra in his comment on the *Uttarajjhayana-sutta* [597]. The contents of this Jaina version are as follows :

"The capital of king Udayana was the town of Vītabhaya, situated in the country of the Sindhu-Sauvīras. He ruled over 10 other kings, and over 16 countries. The queen was called Prabhāvatī, the prince royal Abhijit, and his sister's son Késin.

One day the king of the island of Pañcaśaila, a fervent adherent of the Jaina faith, carved from sandalwood an image of Lord Vardhamāna. Then he ordered some merchants to cross the ocean, and to present the image to king Udayana, who adhered to the teachings of Brahmin ascetics. Consequently queen Prabhāvatī was converted to Jainism. However, shortly after her conversion she died, and was reborn as a goddess. One night she went to Udayana, and converted him to the Jaina faith.

Shortly afterwards war broke out between Udayana and Pradyota, king of Ujjayinī, because the latter had stolen the miraculous image of Lord Vardhamāna. Udayana defeated the enemy, but, unfortunately, the image of Lord Vardhamāna refused to return to the land of Sauvīra. Thereupon Udayana decided to become a monk. He was admitted into the order by Mahāvīra Jina himself. Keśin, his sister's son, ascended the throne. After some time Udayana fell ill, and went back to his native town. On the advise of bad councillors Keśin tried to poison him. Two times Udayana was rescued by a god, but the third time he ate the poisoned food, and died. Enraged the god caused a sand-storm to bury the town of Vītabhaya by sand. Only one person survived, a potter, who once had given shelter to Udayana".

Lüders has conclusively shown that the author of the Jain version has used the Buddhist *Udrāyaṇāvadāna* as a source [598]. However, he failed to stress the one important detail of the story, viz. the geographical situation of Vītabhaya, Udayana's capital. As the merchants, who conveyed the image of Lord Vardhamāna from the island of Pañcaśaila to the country of Sindhu-Sauvīra, must have crossed the ocean, it is evident that the town of Vītabhaya was a seaport. It tallies exactly with the data supplied by the Buddhist Milindapañha in regard to the seaport of Roruka [599].

Moreover, there is additional evidence supplied by the reliefs of the

[597] Jacobi, *Mahārāṣṭrī*, p. 28 sqq.; summary in Lüders, *Beiträge S.P.A.W.*, p. 59-61 (= Lüders, *Phil. Ind.*, p. 653-655). I have sanskritized the names written in Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit.

[598] Lüders, *Beiträge S.P.A.W.*, p. 61-63 (= Lüders, *Phil. Ind.*, p. 655-657).

[599] See p. 147-148.

Borobudur on the island of Java. This stūpa, built in c. A.D. 800, shows no less than 27 reliefs referring to the *Udrāyaṇāvadāna* [600].
Among them there are three successive reliefs showing resp. a ship putting into port (L. 172), a monk entering a town, and welcomed by the citizens (L.174), and once again a ship putting into port (L.176). In Foucher's opinion the first ship represents the arrival of Heruka at the spot where he was to found Herukaccha (scene no. 23), while the second vessel belongs to Bhiruka who was to found Bhirukaccha (scene no. 25). The intermediate relief represents Mahākātyāyana's return to Śrāvastī (scene 24) [601].

From the presence of ships on the reliefs and from the geographical situation of Bhirukaccha, or modern Broach on the estuary of the Narbada river, it follows that the towns of Herukaccha and Roruka were likewise known to be seaports.

The identification of Roruka with Harmatelia

I have shown that the country of the Sauvīras coincided more or less with the ancient country of the Oritans, viz. the plain of Las Bela and the adjacent coastal strip from the Hab river up to the Hingol river [602]; that Roruka was the capital of the Sauvīras [603]; and finally, that Roruka was a seaport [604].

For these reasons it is probable that Roruka is identical with Rambacia, "the largest village of the Oreitans" [605], "a sheltered harbour with suitable terrain near by", where Alexander "established a city called Alexandria" [606].

[600] Foucher, *op. cit.*, p. 23-33; reproductions in Krom & van Erp, *Barabudur*, I, series I. b, plates 64-88; description in *ibidem*, II, p. 256-270, or in the English version, viz. Krom, *Barabudur*, I, p. 282-301.

In the VIth, VIIth, and VIIIth centuries A.D. the story of Udrāyaṇa was very popular. Waldschmidt has shown that a painting in the treasure-caves of Qyzil in Chinese Turkestan represents queen Prabhāvatī dancing, and king Udrāyaṇa playing the lute, see Waldschmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 62-64, and figure 34. See also Nobel, *op. cit.*, p. XXIII, note 1. This painting dates from about A.D. 700.

[601] Foucher, *op. cit.*, p. 32-33. The numbers L.172-176 refer to the lithographs in the voluminous album composed by F. C. Wilsen and Schönberg Müller in 1849-1853, and edited by Dr. Leemans.

[602] See p. 147-148.

[603] See p. 147.

[604] See p. 156-157.

[605] See p. 91.

[606] See p. 94.

Moreover, I have suggested that the common ancestor of all the Greek and Latin variant readings of the name of this town is the form RAMBIRA which has given rise to two different classes of readings, viz. a class showing the initial R like RAMBA, and a class which has dropped it like the greater part of the readings [607].

It appears that the Greek and Macedonian soldiers heard the Sanskrit form of the toponym, viz. *Rauru-ka*, and *not* the Prakrit form, viz. *Roru-ka*. Apparantly, they found the word hard to pronounce, because the syllable *rau-* had to be repeated once again as *ru-*, which resulted into the linguistic phenomenon termed haplology.

The best example is RAMBA. The soldiers heard *rau-ru-*, which they pronounced as *rau-a*, and later on the name was written down in the military reports as RAMBA, because the letters MBA seemed to approximate the difficult sound *u̯a* best.

The second class, which drops the initial R, is divided into three subsections, viz. the AMBIRA, ORA, and HARMA types.

The AMBIRA subsection represents the prototype. It is the Greek transcription of the sound (*r*)*au-ru-*, in which the letters AMBI render the sound *au̯-*. To this class belong the variant readings Ambiregus (Justinus), Aboritae (Curtius), and Abortae (Plinius). The source of these readings was Clitarchus's History of Alexander, and in his turn Clitarchus had borrowed the prototype from an Alexander romance [608].

The ORA type is either an independent Greek transcription of the sound *au-ru* in *Rau-ru-ka*, or it is derived from Curtius's reading AB-OR-I-TAE by its dropping the first syllabel AB-. In general it is very difficult to decide whether a toponym represents the original transcription of a native name, or a variant reading due to the mistakes or negligence of copyists. Readings like Neoritae (Diodorus), and Noritae (Curtius) are, undoubtedly, copyists' mistakes due to Clitarchus [609]. In fact, they belong to the ORA type.

The HARMA type is most interesting because it shows that the letters RM represent the second syllable of the native pronunciation (*r*)*au-ru-*. The Greek, or Macedonian, soldiers appended to it the ending *a* so that the form became *au-ru-a*, which was written down in the reports as ARMA. It is the original transcription of this type. The letter H was, probably, prefixed to it by some ignorant copyist. In Greek majuscule

[607] See p. 134.

[608] Ambiregus : see p. 133-134; Aboritae and Abortae : see p. 102-105, and esp. p. 104.

[609] Neoritae : see p. 94; Noritae : see p. 102; Clitarchus as a source : see p. 71-72.

script the *spiritus asper* is never written, and the copyist may have supposed that it should be added.

Summarizing I should like to state that for historio-geographical reasons which are corroborated by the additional evidence supplied by textual criticism the ancient seaport of Roruka should be identified with the legendary town of Harmatelia.

The geographical situation of Roruka

As Roruka has turned out to be identical with Nearchus's anchorage Cocala, one may infer that the town was situated either near the creek of the Phor river (hypothesis of Tomaschek) [610], or near the fishing-station of Khandewari (my hypothesis) [611]. However, meanwhile the *Udrāyaṇāvadāna* has added a new detail to the source material on which I had based my conclusion at first.

The pious ministers Heruka and Bhiruka are told to have dug a subterraneaous passage from their palace *to the river*, and to have escaped by ship the sand-storm which was to destroy the town of Roruka [612]. It is why Lüders identified this unnamed river with the Indus, and used it as an argument in favour of the hypothetical identification of Roruka with Alor on the Indus [613].

Was after all Tomaschek's identification correct? I do not think so, for the water supply of the Phor river is not perennial, and moreover, its valley does not present sufficient advantages in favour of a profitable trade.

Was Roruka situated on the outlet of the Nakhatri river about one day's march to the east of Khandewari [614]? It is up to the archaeologists to solve this problem. In my opinion it is worth-while surveying the area between the Porali and Phor rivers.

The identification of Herukaccha with Barbaricum

The *Udrāyaṇāvadāna* supplies another important detail yet, viz. the sea-voyage of Heruka, who founded Herukaccha. As its foundation

[610] See p. 74.

[611] See p. 76-77.

[612] See p. 150.

[613] Lüders, *Beiträge S.P.A.W.*, p. 58 (= Lüders, *Phil. Ind.*, p. 652) : "Es ist höchst wahrscheinlich, dass es in der Nähe des Indus lag".

[614] See p. 76.

preceded the one of Bhirukaccha/Broach, it is evident that Herukaccha was likewise situated on the shore of the Arabian Sea, somewhere between Roruka and Broach.

The only ancient seaport fulfilling this condition is the Graeco-Indian seaport of Barbaricum. I have shown that BARBARICUM is derived by popular etymology from BARACE, *BAPAKH*, the small island which protected the harbour against the strong winds blowing off the ocean [615]. It follows that, therefore, BARACE is, most probably, a variant reading of HARACE, in Greek majuscule script *APAKH*, representing the Greek pronunciation of the native designation *Heruka*, which in its turn is the abbreviated form of the complete name of Herukaccha.

In this connection I should like to stress that one ought not mix up the name of Herukaccha with ERAGASSA METROPOLIS mentioned by Ptolemaeus in a string of toponyms belonging to the great western trade-route leading from Taxila by Modura (= *Mathurā*), Cosamba (= Kauśāmbī), Eragassa metropolis, Cognabanda (= *Kākanāda*, or modern : Sanchi), Ozoamis (= *Ujjayinī*, or modern : Ujjain) to Barygaza (= Prakrit : *Bhirukaccha*, Sanskrit : *Bhṛgukaccha*, modern : Broach) [616]. Eragassa metropolis is identical with *Erakaccha*, situated on the right bank of the Betwa river, a tributary of the Jumna. In Buddhist literature it is referred to as the residence of a banker (*Petavatthu*, comment on *gāthā* 20), and of a wealthy goldsmith (*Therīgāthā*, 435) [617].
It is, therefore, not the mere similarity of names, but in the main the historio-geographical context which matters, if one studies the possible identifications of Greek and Sanskrit geographical names.

The identification of the Suari with the Sauvīras

When Nearchus went ashore near the mouth of the Tomerus, or Hingol, river, he had to break the stubborn resistance of the Fish-eaters who were settled there. According to Philostratus their "city" was called Stobera [618]. This variant reading is important because it links up the name of the Tomerus river with the name of the Suari "in whose domain is Mount Maleus" (Plinius). As Mount Maleus is identical with Cape Malan, the geographical position of the Suari is well established. The

[615] See p. 37-41.
[616] Eggermont, *Muruṇḍas*, p. 262-263.
[617] Vogel, *Ptolemy*, p. 122-123.
[618] See p. 64.

identification of the Suari with the names of the city and the river is certain [619]. Variant readings like "Tomerus" (Arrianus), "Tubero" (Mela), "Stobera", and "Suari", are derived from one and the same native designation all of them [620].

Owing to their position on the borders of the Oritan district the political situation of these Suari was rather ambivalent. I have shown that in the times of the Old Persian Empire they belonged to the satrapy of Gedrosia [621]. On the other hand there were, unmistakeably, ties with the Oritan district. Whereas one time Plinius says that Mount Maleus belonged to the Suari, another time he suggests that it was situated in the territory of the Oritans [622].

That there were close relations between the sept of Fish-eaters of Stobera and the Oritans appears likewise from the geographical treatises. Ptolemaeus mentions the variant readings of their names the one next to the other :

"The seventh (mouth of the Indus), called Lonibarae; the town of Bardaxima".

Lonibarae is identical with the Tomerus river, and Bardaxima, perhaps, with Oritene [623] :

The same pair of toponyms occurs in the next passage handed down by Plinius [624] :

"Between the Indus and the Iomanes are the mountain tribes of the Caesi, the forester Caetriboni, and then the Megallae ... They are bounded by the river Indus and surrounded by a ring of mountains and by deserts.

Below the deserts at a distance of 625 miles are the Dari and Surae, and then desert again for a distance of 187 miles, these places for the most part being surrounded by sands exactly as islands are surrounded by the sea".

I have not identified the nations in the Punjab between the Indus and the Iomanes, or Jumna, river yet. On the other hand it stands without doubt that the Dari and the Surae are identical with resp. the Oritans and the Suari, or Fish-eaters occupying the region of the Tomerus river. The territory of these tribes is bounded by two desert plains. It tallies with the reports on Alexander's campaign in Baluchistan.

Before Alexander could attack the Oritans he had to traverse a consid-

[619] See p. 65 and p. 78-80.
[620] See p. 65, and *ibidem*, note 253.
[621] See p. 82-84.
[622] See p. 78-79.
[623] See p. 84 and p. 89.
[624] Plinius, *Nat. Hist.*, VI, 73.

erable part of desert [625], and after his victory over the allied powers of the Oritans and the Gedrosians at the defile of the Hingol river he proceeded towards the Gedrosians "through country which for the most part was desert" [626]. As the name of the Surae is very similar to the name of the Suari, it follows that the other tribe, the Dari, must be identical with the Ori, or Oritans. For the rest, the name of the Dari occurs once again in another passage handed down by Plinius [627] :

"Some hold that Daritis is part of Ariana, and they give the dimensions of both as — length 1950 miles, breadth one half that of India".

In fact the district of the Oritans is part of Ariana, or the eastern portion of the Iranian plateau together with the adjacent coastal area along the Arabian Sea.

As I have shown that according to the Indian sources Roruka *alias* Ora *alias* Rambacia *alias* Harmatelia was the capital of the Sauvīras, and as, moreover, I have made it probable that the Sauvīras occupied the territory of the ancient Oritan district, it is not too far-fetched to conclude that the Suari *alias* Surae *alias* Sires mentioned in the Roman sources are identical with the Indian Sauvīras [628]. In this connection I repeat what I have said before. There is no evidence whatever that Ora is a tribal name. The only reason why the Alexander historians called the inhabitants of the district Oritans is that Roruka *alias* Ora was the largest village of the region, and that, therefore, Alexander founded his Alexandria of the Oritans there [629]. The name of the Sauvīras however, is a tribal name indicating the members of the tribe. It means "heroes' warriors, brave men", and it proves that along the whole coast from the Hab up to Cape Malan Early Prakrit was spoken. Though the Fish-eaters who occupied the area of the Hingol river were still Stone Age men, they did not differ as to their stock or language from the more civilized fishermen of Roruka city [630].

[625] See p. 91.
[626] See p. 92-93.
[627] Plinius, *Nat. Hist.*, VI, 95.
[628] See p. 147-148.
[629] See p. 80.
[630] The evidence proves what I only *suggested* at p. 80.

The kingdom of Sigerdis and the kingdom of the Sauvīras

In the second century B.C. the Oritan district had developed into a flourishing kingdom mentioned by Strabo in connection with the Graeco-Bactrian invasions of India [631] :

"The Greeks who caused Bactria to revolt grew so powerful on account of the fertility of the country that they became masters, not only of Ariana, but also of India, as Apollodorus of Artemita says [632]: and more tribes were subdued by them than by Alexander — by Menander in particular (at least if he actually crossed the Hypanis towards the east and advanced as far as the Imaüs [633]), for some were subdued by him personally and others by Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus the king of the Bactrians; *and they took possession, not only of Patalena, but also, on the rest of the coast, of what is called the kingdom of Saraostus and Sigerdis.* In short, Apollodorus says that Bactriana is the ornament of Ariana as a whole; and, more than that, they extended their empire even as far as the Seres and the Phryni".

Tarn identified the kingdom of Saraostus with Surāṣṭra, which at the time comprised not only the peninsula of Kathiawar, but also part of Gujarat, *i.e.* the eastern coast of the Gulf of Cambay with Surat and Broach. As to the kingdom of Sigerdis he suggested, with some diffidence though, that it included a.o. the island of Cutch, as it must have lain between Patalene, or the Indus delta, and Syrastrene [634]. However, it seemed to me that the problem of the location of the kingdom of Sigerdis was anything but solved. When I pondered it over and over again, it struck me that Ptolemaeus seemed to refer to Sigerdis in the next passage [635] :

"The easternmost (people) towards the Ganges are the Mandalae, where (is) the town Asthagura".

From the variant readings Mandralae, and Malandae [636], the latter reminds of Malana, Nearchus's anchorage off the coast of the plain of Malan. If this identification is correct, the town of Asthagura should

[631] Strabo, *Geogr.*, XI, 11, 1.

[632] Apollodorus of Artemita, a Greek city east of the Tigris, lived in between c. 130 B.C. and 87 B.C., author of a History of Parthia which has got lost. The book dealt not only with Parthia, but also with the Bactrian Greeks and their invasion in India, see Tarn, *Bactria & India*, p. 44-45.

[633] Imaüs is a conjecture of Casaubonus; the text gives Isamus, *Ἴσαμος*. There is not the slightest reason to supposing that Menander advanced as far as the Himalaya (= Imaüs). The name Isamus reminds of Ozoamis, or Ujjayinī in Malwa, see Ptolemaeus, *Geogr.*, VII, 1, 65. For the rest, Isamus is not identified.

[634] Tarn, *Bactria & India*, p. 234-235.

[635] Ptolomaeus, *Geogr.*, VII, 1, 72.

[636] Renou, *op. cit.*, p. 32, note 12.

be expected to represent another anchorage, which either precedes the anchorage of Malana, or comes next to it, provided that the pair of toponyms Malandae-Asthagura answers to the Law of the strings of geographical names. If so, the only anchorage which should be considered is the one at the Tomerus river. In fact, the name of the town of Stobera mentioned by Philostratus is similar to Asthagura. Moreover, there is additional evidence to that effect. Plinius mentions "the Suari, in whose domain is Mount Maleus" [637]. I have shown that Mount Maleus corresponds to Cape Malan, and that the Suari represent the Sauvīras settled near the Tomerus river. Therefore I conclude that Asthagura is just another variant reading of the original Greek transcription of the native name Sauvīra. As usual Malandae-Asthagura represent a pair of toponyms preserved by tradition as a solid whole because they represent successive stages of a voyage.

As the kingdom of Sigerdis is reported to have lain on the coast of the Arabian Sea, and as, moreover, the name of Sigerdis itself is closely related to the name of Asthagura, it is evident that the kingdom of Sigerdis corresponds to the kingdom of the Sauvīras, viz. the territory of the ancient Oritans.

In fact, the countries taken by the Graeco-Bactrian Greeks correspond to the three areas hinted at in the *Udrāyaṇāvadāna*. Roruka belonged to the Sauvīran country, Herukaccha to the Indus delta, or Patalene, and Bhirukaccha is identical with Broach in Gujarat, which, in Tarn's opinion, belonged to the kingdom of Surāṣṭra at the time.

The kingdom of Sigerdis is mentioned once more by Plinius in his report on the development of the Graeco-Indian trade [638] :

"Such was the route followed by the fleet of Alexander; but subsequently it was thought that the safest line is to start from Cape Syagrus [639] in Arabia with a west wind (the native name for which in those parts is Hippalus) and make for Patale, the distance being reckoned as 1332 miles.

The following period considered it a shorter and safer route to start from the same cape and steer for the Indian harbour of Sigerus, and for a long time this was the course followed, until a merchant discovered a shorter route, and the desire for gain brought India nearer; indeed, the voyage is made every year,

[637] See p. 79. Compare also Plinius, *Nat. Hist.*, VI, 64 : "the Malli occupying Mount Mallus, and the river Ganges, which is the boundary of this region". Like Ptolemaeus's fragment this text suggests a connection between Cape Malan and the Ganges which certainly belongs to the domain of pseudo-geography.

[638] Plinius, *Nat. Hist.*, VI, 100-101.

[639] I replaced Rackham's translation "Ras Fartak" by the name recorded in the text itself.

with companies of archers on board, because these seas used to be very greatly infested by pirates".

Plinius describes four stages of the voyage to India. The first stage is Nearchus's route dating from 325 B.C. The next stage is connected with the discovery of the use of the monsoon winds for the voyage. Eudoxus of Cyzicus was first to cross the open sea. Between 120 and 110 B.C. he made two voyages [640]. In Thiel's opinion Hippalus, perhaps the helmsman of Eudoxus's ship, started regular ocean-going trade to India in about 100 B.C. From Ras Fartak in Arabia the ships made for the Indus delta by the open sea. This stage of the voyages to India lasted only for one generation, from 100 to 75 B.C.

The third stage lasted from 75 B.C. to about A.D. 25, and then the Greek sailors cut out Arabia altogether, and sailed direct from the Somali coast to Muziris and other ports in the extreme south of India [641].

Tarn and Thiel are of the opinion that during these four stages the sailors had learnt to head to Indian ports which were situated ever more southward on the Indian coast, and for that reason they supposed that Sigerus, an unknown place, lay somewhere in the neighbourhood of Bombay [642].

On the other hand I myself am inclined to identify Sigerus with the kingdom of Sigerdis, or Sauvīra. The names are closely related, and moreover, the Indian legends stress the basic unity of Sindhu-Sauvīra [643]. This point of view involves a reconstruction of the history of ocean-going trade to India. I suppose that during the Hippalus period a number of ships were wrecked, and that ever since sailors preferred hugging the

[640] Thiel, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

[641] Hippalus : see Thiel, *op. cit.*, p. 20-21; four stages : see Thiel, *op. cit.*, p. 63-70, and Tarn, *Bactria & India*, p. 368-375.

[642] Tarn, *Bactria & India*, p. 368 : "Sigerus, somewhere south of Barygaza", and *ibidem*, p. 372 : "Nobody knows where Sigerus was, but it must have been somewhere in the neighbourhood of Bombay".; Thiel, *op. cit.*, p. 64 : "Sigerus moet in ieder geval ongeveer midden op de Westkust van Indië in de buurt van het huidige Bombay hebben gelegen en is waarschijnlijk te identificeren met *Μελιζειγάρα* van den Periplus (53 = *Μιλιζιγηρίς* Ptol. 7, 1, 95 (Renou 41) = Jaigarh of Rajapur, Warmington 45, Schoff 201)."; Rackham, *op. cit.*, p. 415, note b : "Probably Jaigarh", after Warmington, *op. cit.*, p. 45 and map.

[643] See p. 145. Demetrius conquered Patalene, the kingdom of Saraostus and the kingdom of Sigerdis. As Saraostus is Surāṣṭra, and Patalene a portion of Sindhu, and as moreover in the Indian sources Sindhu and Sauvīra are always combined, Sigerdis must be Sauvīra, As Sigerus and Sigerdis are, both of them, countries situated on the coast of the Arabian Sea, it is not far-fetched to identify them.

Arabian coast, after which they could cross the short stretch of open sea towards Roruka in the Sauvīran country.

The real epos of Greek seamanship was written only in the times of the early Roman empire. It was an explosion of daring and skill rather than the result of a protracted development.

In my view therefore, the palmy days of Roruka, the capital of the Sauvīras, coincided more or less with the *third* period of Graeco-Indian ocean-going trade lasting from c. 75 B.C. to A.D 25.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION : A SURVEY OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE SAUVĪRAS

It is a surprising thing to notice that the primitive Fish-eaters occupying the region about the estuary of the Hingol river in Baluchistan were designated by the Indo-Aryan name of Sauvīras, or Sovīras, viz. "heroes, warriors, brave men". The Sauvīras Nearchus captured in the battle at the Hingol river were Stone Age men. According to his report they used to tear asunder the fishes with their nails, and everything else with sharp stones, and they did not possess iron [644].

They must have belonged to the first wave of Indo-Aryans who occupied the eastern portion of the plateau of Iran in the *second* millennium B.C., and had gradually moved from there towards the barren coast of the Arabian Sea.

When their kinsmen in ancient Ariana started invading the Punjab and Sind in between 1600 and 1200 B.C. [645], the Sauvīras remained behind in the inhospitable region fate had reserved to them. Most probably the Dravidians, who from of old occupied the Porali plain, barred their trek to the east. In the course of the first half of the *first* millennium B.C. though, the Indo-Aryan Fish-eaters may have managed to oust the Dravidians from the coastal strip of the Las Bela plain, and get into touch once again with their kinsmen who had, meanwhile, occupied the Indus river basin. There, across the Kirthar and Sulaiman ranges, tribal warfare resulted at intervals into the foundation of a united kingdom, called Sindhu, which comprised the lower valley of the Indus from the meeting of the rivers southward down to the coast of the delta [646], while the Śibi tribe managed to get control over the ancient caravan route running from Kandahar through the Khojak and Bolan passes to Alor on the Indus [647].

[644] See p. 64 (Nearchus), and p. 160-162 (identification).

[645] See Eggermont, *Review 3*, p. 7, column 2 : "If, therefore, the Indo-Aryans had occupied Afghanistan in between 1700 and 1600 B.C., it took them at least 5 centuries before they arrived, at last, at the Ganges river".

[646] See p. 145-146.

[647] See p. 16-22 and p. 144.

From Sind the Hindu civilization which had resulted from the mixture of Dravidian and Indo-Aryan cultures passed westward towards the Las Bela plain. There, in the eastern portion of Baluchistan, a larger political unit, called the kingdom of the Sauvīras, came into being. Its largest village was Rauruka, or Roruka, a fishing-station, situated between the Porali and the Phor rivers. It was occupied by fishermen belonging to the Indo-Aryan tribe of Fish-eaters whose territory extended from Cape Malan to the Hab river. However, in contrast to their kinsmen settled in the region of the Hingol the Sauvīras of Rauruka could profit from the advantages of Hindu culture. There was, probably, a primitive court consisting of the king, the Brahmin *purohita*, and the leaders of the various clans. Although on the coast some Prakrit dialect was spoken, in the inland people may be supposed to have spoken some kind of Old Dravidian. There they dressed like the Indians did, and equipped themselves similarly for warfare, but they clung to certain traditional customs, like fractional burial [648].

Cyrus the Great (558-529 B.C.), the founder of the Persian Empire (550-331 B.C.), conquered Ariana. Darius the Great (522-486 B.C.) turned its northernmost province into a satrapy called *Paruparaesanna*, Greek : Parapamisadae, or "the land beyond the mountain which is higher than the eagle", but the natives called it Gandhāra. Most probably, he joined to it the territory of Taxila beyond the Indus, and, ever since, the *Vitastā*, Greek : Hydaspes, modern : Jhelum, was regarded as the easternmost boundary of the Persian Empire [649]. Then he ordered a Carian shipmaster, Scylax of Caryanda, to sail down the Kabul and Indus rivers, after which he had to skirt along the coast of Baluchistan and Arabia. Thirty months later Scylax arrived in Egypt. After his return the shipmaster published his logbook, Periplus, or Circumnavigation, which provided the West of its first authentic information about India and Baluchistan [650]. After that it did not take long before Darius invaded the lower Indus valley. Shortly before 513 B.C. he occupied Sind, and turned it into a satrapy called *Hinduš*, the iranized form of Sanskrit *Sindhu* [651].

From his predecessors Darius had inherited the suzerainity of *Maka*, or the coast of the Arabian Sea from Cape Jask at the entrance of the Persian Gulf up to an undetermined spot beyond the Hingol river. It

[648] See p. 61-63.
[649] See p. 175-177, and 188.
[650] Olmstead, *op. cit.*, p. 144-145.
[651] See p. 145.

coincides with modern Makran, from New Persian Mak-kirān, or "coast of the Mak(a)", and with the coastal strip which the Alexander historians assigned to the Fish-eaters [652]. It seems, therefore, that Darius occupied the territory of the easternmost Sauvīras only after the conquest of Sindhu.

Apparently it is for that reason why the Hingol river served as a boundary line between the eastern and western Sauvīras. The eastern Sauvīras were governed by the satrap of Arachosia, residing in Kandahar, and the Fish-eaters to the west of the Hingol were supposed to obey the satrap of Gedrosia, residing in Pura metropolis, situated somewhere in the interior of Persian Baluchistan [653]. For the rest, both sections of the Sauvīras had recovered their independence by the end of the Persian supremacy. The western Sauvīras together with a portion of the Gedrosians belonged to a separate political unit extending from the Hingol westward up to Cape Mogal near Ormara [654], and the Oritans, or eastern Sauvīras, were an autonomous tribe [655].

In 325 B.C. Alexander the Great crossed the Hab river by night, and after having traversed the barren, much-broken plateau between the Hab and Naka Kharari he was close to the inhabited region at dawn. Then he divided the cavalry into three squadrons and took by surprise the greatest possible extent of country. At nightfall the squadrons had covered the stretch from Naka Kharari to the Siranda lake. There they remained waiting for the arrival of Hephaestion and the infantry which had followed in marching order [656].

Meanwhile he sent a task force consisting of 500 Thracian bowmen towards Rauruka, the capital of the Sauvīran country. However, they failed to take the town by surprise, and Alexander was forced to lay siege to it. For a couple of days the citizens stood firm against the entire army of Alexander, and this feat happens to have been perpetuated by the legend of the siege of Harmatelia and Alexander's dream, handed down by the author of some Alexander romance [657].

After the conquest of Rauruka Alexander marched along the coast eastward towards the defile, marking the entrance to the Hingol valley.

[652] See p. 63-64; see also Arrianus, *Indica*, 26, 2: "Below the Gadrosians, as you follow the actual coast, dwell the people called the Fish-eaters.", and *ibidem*, 29,8 : "The length of the voyage along the coast of the Fish-eaters is a little above 10.000 stades".

[653] See p. 83.

[654] See p. 83.

[655] See p. 61, and *ibidem*, note 238

[656] See p. 91.

[657] See p. 107-109 and p. 131-133.

There the allied troops of the Sauvīras and Gedrosians had joined together, but on Alexander's arrival the Gedrosians fled, and the Sauvīran chiefs surrendered to Alexander themselves and their nation [658]. Alexander organized the territory of the Sauvīras, viz. the area between the Hab and Hingol rivers, into a satrapy, while separating it from Arachosia, and he appointed Apollophanes satrap, and Leonnatus commander-in-chief of the occupying force. He himself with the larger part of the army proceeded towards the inland of Gedrosia where his army had to endure many hardships before it finally arrived at Pura metropolis [659].

As Alexander had failed to occupy the inland of the Porali plain, the greater portion of the Sauvīran country was independent yet, and no sooner he had gone, than the inland Sauvīras attacked Leonnatus's troops. They lost the battle, but part of them could escape. The satrap was killed in action, and for a few months Leonnatus ruled the country of his own accord. On his arrival at Pura Alexander received the report from Rauruka, and he appointed Sibyrtius satrap of Arachosia and Gedrosia. Most probably the Sauvīran country was incorporated in the new extensive satrapy [660].

The Macedonian and Greek soldiers used to call the *people* of the Sauvīras after the *town* of Rauruka. The settlement had got some renown, first owing to its stout resistence when Alexander besieged it, secondly because it was the largest village in the region, and in the third place because Alexander had ordered Leonnatus to found a city called Alexandria on a suitable terrain close by.

Only some time afterwards, when Alexander's army had reached the defile near the outlet of the Hingol river, the Macedonians and Greeks picked up the tribal name of the Sauvīras. At the spot there was a settlement of Fish-eaters, the "town of Stobera", viz. "the town of Sauvīra", occupied by people belonging to the same stock as the inhabitants of Rauruka. The soldiers did not realize that, and the more so because the Sauvīras of the Malan plain across the watershed belonged to another political unit, which had been part of the ancient Persian satrapy of Gedrosia [661]. It is why generally common tradition continued designating the *eastern* Sauvīras as "inhabitants of the district of Rauruka".

[658] See p. 92.
[659] See pp. 67-69, p. 92-93, and p. 98-99.
[660] See p. 99-101.
[661] See p. 64 and p. 83.

Moreover, the name of Rauruka itself was handed down under the disguise of many variant readings because the Macedonians and Greeks found the native name hard to pronounce. It was, probably, rendered in the military reports as RAMBIRAKA, or RAMBIRA, but owing to the linguistic phenomenon of haplology only the first syllable of Rau-ru-ka was pronounced and the second syllable dropped [662], which resulted in the reading RAMBACIA handed down by Arrianus [663]. In fact this is not the town's name, but the district's, or eparchy, name, derived from the name of the inhabitants : RAMBACI, who were called after the name of the town itself : RAMBA.

Another designation was AMBIRAKA or AMBIRA, with omission of the first *r*. It gave rise to forms like AMBIREGUS (Justinus), ABORTAE (Plinius), and ABORITAE (Curtius) [664].

A third designation was ORA, with contraction of the *au*-sound of (*r*)*au-ru-* into the long O of ORA, *ΩPA*. After this variant reading the inhabitants were called ORITAE, and the district ORITENE. These versions of the name were likewise handed down by Arrianus. However, the soldiers of Dorian extraction pronounced ORITENE as ORITANA. To the latter type belongs the designation "ALEXANDRIA apud ORIGALA", Origala representing a variant reading of Oritana [665], and to the same type one may reckon the name of KOKALA handed down in Nearchus's log-book [666].

The fourth designation was ARMA, which shows the omission of the first *r* of (*r*)*au-ru-* as well, and, moreover, an attempt to rendering the second syllable *ru-* by means of the letters RM. Later copyists added the aspiration H, and the name of the town, HARMA, was replaced by the eparchy name HARMATENE, which was handed down by Diodorus under the disguise of the variant reading HARMATELIA. So the resultant was a rather complex form deviating considerably from the original native designation [667].

Candragupta (317-293 B.C.) had already been ruling as emperor at Pāṭaliputra for more than ten years when Seleucus I Nicator, Alexander's

[662] See p. 158.

[663] See p. 91, and *ibidem*, note 354. Cf. Ptolemaeus, *Geogr.*, VI, 21,2 (Gedrosia) : *Ραγίραυα πόλις* (Rhagiraua town), and its variant reading *'Ράπραυα πόλις* (Rhapraua town) supplied by Marcianus, see Ronca, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

[664] See p. 158, and p. 102-105.

[665] See p. 158, and p. 70-74.

[666] See p. 72.

[667] See p. 158-159, and p. 128-131.

diadoch in Syria, Mesopotamia and Iran, led an expedition into India with the view, no doubt, to reconquer the territory lost to Candragypta after the death of Alexander. The expedition ended with a treaty in c. 302 B.C. Seleucus ceded Ariana to Candragupta in exchange for marriage rights and 500 elephants [668]. Under this treaty Cape Malan was to mark the boundary between the Indian empire and the Seleucid kingdom, and thus it remained for nearly one century [669].

I suppose — I cannot prove it, as our written documents are rather recent — that during that period the ancient open air sanctuary at Hinglaj was transformed into the westernmost Hindu *tīrtha*. Military occupation and cultural conquest usually go hand in hand.

Buddhism was first introduced by Aśoka (268-239 B.C.). He started though, by stressing the notions which were common to all the Indian religions. From the Graeco-Aramaic edict of Kandahar it appears that when instructing the people in Dharma, or "the Law of Piety", he restricted himself to a few basic principles, like abstaining from killing living beings, self-restraint, and obedience to father, mother and elders. One line of the edict arrested the attention of some Greek traveller : *All the king's hunters and fishermen have stopped hunting* (*and fishing*). As Alexander was known to have been in this region, he ascribed the edict to Alexander, and in the next distorted form the line was quoted by Clitarchus in his History of Alexander : *Alexander made an order forbidding a fish diet to all the Fish-eaters*. Finally Plinius inserted the line in his Natural History, and in this way a far echo of Aśoka's message to Ariana has been preserved from oblivion [670].

The revolt of Diodotus I of Bactria in c. 256 B.C. and the rebellion of the Parthians shortly before 247 B.C. cannot have affected very much the political situation of the Maurya territory in Ariana. It was only in the long run that these events proved themselves a danger for the Mauryas and their empire. This danger came when Antiochus III (223-187 B.C.) decided to crush the growing power of the new Parthian and Bactrian kingdoms. He launched his glorious expedition unto the outlying parts of the Seleucidan kingdom in 222 B.C. In 209 B.C. he defeated the Parthians, and after having concluded a pact of alliance with Artabanus of Parthia, he turned to Bactria. At the time Bactria was held by Euthydemus, who had possessed himself of the country by killing

[668] Eggermont, *Notes*, *I*, p. 56-57.

[669] See p. 83.

[670] See p. 64-67; *cf.* p. 58-61 : on the shrine of Hinglaj and the introduction of Buddhism.

Diodotus II and his family in c. 235 B.C. He met Antiochus in a cavalry battle near the Harī rūd (Arius river) in 208 B.C. Antiochus won the engagement and drove the enemy to Zariaspa, or Bactra. After a two years' siege both parties came to an agreement. Euthydemus's son Demetrius, who had made a favourable impression on the Seleucid, was permitted to marry one of Antiochus's daughters. Euthydemus received the favour to style himself king. "Then", the historian Polybius reports, "crossing the Caucasus he descended into India and renewed his alliance with Sophagasenus, the Indian king. Here he procured more elephants, so that his total force of them amounted now to 150, and after a further distribution of corn to his troops, set out himself with his army, leaving Androsthenes of Cyzicus to collect the treasure which the king had agreed to pay. Having traversed Arachosia and crossed the river Erymanthus he reached Carmania through Drangene, where, as winter was now at hand, he took up his quarters".

Sophagasenus *alias* Subhagasena is, most probably, a surname of Somaśarman, the seventh emperor of the Maurya dynasty (208-201 B.C.), and in fact, the subject of the negotiations between him and Antiochus III was the one-hundred-years old pact between Candragupta and Seleucus I. By occupying the Kabul valley Antiochus had recently won the winning stroke against the Indian emperor, and in my opinion he stipulated the restitution of all the territory in Ariana that had been under the power of the Mauryas ever since Seleucus ceded it to Candragupta in c. 302 B.C. The geographical details of Antiochus's line of march corroborate this hypothesis. At the time the Kabul valley was known to be Indian territory, and after having conquered it Antiochus marched through Arachosia, still being on Indian territory. Undoubtedly, he must have passed by the town of Kandahar, the most important town of the region, as it is proved by the presence of Aśoka's Graeco-Aramaic edict. Having crossed the Erymanthus, or Hilmand river, he went to Drangene, or the region of the Hāmūn lake, and, finally, arrived in Carmania, or the region of Kirmān [671]. According to the treaty concluded in 206-205 B.C. the country of the Sauvīras was supposed to belong to the territory recovered by Antiochus III, but as the king did not march through it, the Sauvīras may have seized the opportunity to getting rid of the Seleucidan suzerainty and the Mauryan preponderance as well. The last two Mauryas, Śatadhanvan (201-193 B.C.) and Bṛhadratha (293-186 B.C.) had to cope with the growing influence of their generals

[671] Eggermont, *Notes*, *I*, p. 58-66; W. R. Paton, *Polybius*, *The Histories*, IV, p. 303-304, London, 1925 (Loeb Classical Library) = Polybius, *Historiae*, XI, 39.

who belonged to the Śunga family, and in 186 B.C. Puṣyamitra Śunga put an end to Maurya rule [672].

Antiochus III had shown the internal weakness of the Maurya empire, and the Graeco-Bactrian kings proved themselves to be eager disciples. Euthydemus's son, Demetrius I (c. 200-185 B.C.), pushed forward along the Indus, and took the Indus delta, the kingdom of the Sauvīras, and the kingdom of Surāṣṭra with the adjacent territory of Gujarat [673]. Consequently, he got possession of the three major seaports of Rauruka, Herukaccha *alias* Barbaricum, and Bhṛgukaccha on the Narbada so that he was in a position to levy taxes on the profits of the ocean-going trade.

The Greeks started participating in this profitable trade only at the end of the second century B.C. Eudoxus of Cyzicus was first to discover the use of the monsoon winds for the voyage. Between 120 and 110 B.C. he made for India by the open sea two times. Between 100 and 75 B.C. Greek ships generally headed to Herukaccha/Barbaricum in the Indus delta from Ras Fartak in Arabia. As the voyage by the open sea proved to be too dangerous, during the next period lasting from 75 B.C. to A.D. 25 they preferred skirting along the Arabian coast throughout, after which they crossed the bit of open ocean separating them from Rauruka in the country of the Sauvīras. It follows therefore, that the first century B.C. represents the golden age of Rauruka and the Sauvīran country. Profits came in not only from the trade to the seaports on the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea, but also from the traffic with the market-towns situated on the coast of Africa and Egypt [674].

Decline set in when the Greek sea-going vessels preferred heading directly from the Somali coast to Muziris and other ports in South India. Perhaps another reason was that the entrance to the harbour of Rauruka had got silted up. Anyway it is not by coincidence that the legend of Rauruka's destruction, as it is told in the *Udrāyaṇāvadāna*, was inserted in the Vinaya of the Mūla-Sarvāstivādins in between the second and fourth centuries A.D. When the legend was invented, most probably in the first century A.D., people still remembered the glorious period of Rauruka, capital of the Sauvīras.

[672] Eggermont, *Notes*, *I*, p. 46-48.

[673] See p. 163 ; chronology according to Narain, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

[674] See p. 164-166.

SUPPLEMENT I

THE SATRAPY OF PARAPAMISADAE AND THE DISTRICTS OF SATTAGYDIA, GANDHĀRA, BUNER, AND UDYĀNA

§ 1. The satrapy of Parapamisadae and the district of Gandhāra

Before starting his campaign in Gandhāra Alexander appointed Tyriaspes as satrap of Parapamisadae [675] :

"Crossing the Caucasus [676], in ten days he arrived at the city of Alexandreia, which he had founded in the district of the Parapamisadae during his first expedition into Bactria ... and as satrap he appointed Tyriaspes, both of the country of the Parapamisadae and of the rest as far as the river Cophen" [677].

Tarn identified Alexandria with Begram, which is situated near the confluence of the Panjshir and Ghorband on the west bank of the united rivers. It faced the former Achaemenid capital of Kāpiśī, which stood on the opposite bank [678]. The Ghorband flows to the south-east, and joins the Kabul river, which flows eastward, and in its turn joins the Indus near Und, or ancient *Undabhāṇḍa*, where Alexander crossed the Indus after the conquest of the plain of Gandhāra and the mountainous tracts of Udyāna.

The satrapy of Parapamisadae was an administrative unit dating from Achaemenid times. It was bounded to the east by the Indus river [679] :

"The geographical position of the tribes is as follows : along the Indus are the Paropamisadae, above whom lies the Paropamisus mountain : then, towards the south, the Arachoti : then next, towards the south, the Gedroseni, with the other tribes that occupy the seabord; and the Indus lies, latitudinally, alongside these places; and of these places, in part, some that lie along the Indus are held by Indians, although they formerly belonged to the Persians. Alexander took these away from the Arians and established settlements of his own, but

[675] Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, IV, 22,4-5.

[676] viz. the Hindu Kush.

[677] viz. the Kabul river : Sanskrit : *Kubhā*, cf. *Ṛg-veda*, V, 53,9 and X, 75,9; *Kuhu* or *Kuhū*, see Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 39, 41, 43, 57, 61.

[678] Tarn, *Bactria & India*, p. 461-462.

[679] Strabo, *Geogr.*, XV, 2, 9.

Seleucus Nicator gave them to Sandrocottus, upon terms of intermarriage and of receiving in exchange 500 elephants.

Alongside the Paropamisadae, on the west, are situated the Arii, and alongside the Arachoti and Gedrosii the Drangae; but the Arii are situated alongside the Drangae on the north as well as on the west, almost surrounding a small part of their country".

Together with the satrapies of Gedrosia, Arachosia, and Aria, the Parapamisadae are mentioned once more by Plinius [680] :

"indeed, most authorities do not put the western frontier at the river Indus but include four satrapies, the Gedrosi, Arachotae, Arii and Paropanisadae, with the river Cophas as the final boundary — the whole of which region others consider to belong to the Arii".

Vincent A. Smith was first to have stated that in c. 302 B.C. Seleucus I Nicator (312-280 B.C.) had ceded the four satrapies to Candragupta Maurya (317-293 B.C.). He was adversely criticized by Bevan, who held that this statement "exceeds what is even probable, not to say proved", but the recent discovery of Aśoka's bilingual edict of Kandahar has shown conclusively that Smith was right [681].

Obviously, Plinius has anachronistically mixed up reports on the state of the Achaemenid empire with reports dating from the period of the Indian empire of the Mauryas.

The name of Parapamisadae is derived from Iranian *Paruparaesanna*, viz. "Beyond (the mountain called) Uparaesanna". The name of the mountain means "Higher than the Eagle", and it is the Iranian designation of the Hindu Kush. Therefore, the satrapy must have comprised the whole area of the Kabul river basin extending below the Hindu Kush. The name is attested by the Elamite and Babylonian versions of the Old Persian inscriptions. However, in the Old Persian version itself the province is called *Gandāra* [682]. It involves a geographical problem because in Ptolemaeus's opinion the name of Gandhāra refers exclusively to the area bounded by the Indus, Kabul and Swat rivers [683] :

"Between the Suastus and the Indus (are) the Gandarae and the next towns : Poclaeis, Naulibi".

[680] Plinius, *Nat. Hist.*, VI, 78.

[681] Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 140-142 (= Appendix G); Bevan, *op. cit.*, I, p. 296, note ; edict : see Carratelli, *Edict*, and Schlumberger, *op. cit.*; chronology : Eggermont, *Notes, I*, p. 56.

[682] Olmstead, *op. cit.*, p. 48-49 and p. 49, note 85.

[683] Ptolemaeus, *Geogr.*, VII, 1, 44.

The northern boundary of this Gandhāra in the limited sense was constituted by the mountain ridge the passes of which give access to Udyāna and Buner [684]. In fact, it is the plain bounded to the west by the Swat, to the south by the Kabul, to the east by the Indus, and to the north by the mountains representing a spur of the Hindu Kush. In antiquity the largest town was Poclaeis *alias* Puṣkalāvatī, situated near the spot where in the first century B.C. the Swat river joined the Kabul river [685].

In this connection I suppose that the Persian conquerors used to call their easternmost province *Gandāra* instead of *Paruparaesanna* after the plain situated opposite to the independent territory of the king of Taxila, in the same way as e.g. the Kingdom of the Netherlands is usually called Holland after the province(s) properly so called.

One should, therefore, be careful to distinguish the limited *geographical* unit of Gandhāra from the *political* one bearing the same name. When Cyrus the Great held sway over proper Gandhāra, the name designated the extensive political unit of Parapamisadae governed by his representative residing at Kāpiśī in Afghanistan, but in the times of the Indian emperor Aśoka the name was applied to the province comprising the Kabul valley together with North-West India which was governed by Aśoka's vice-roy from the head-quarters at Taxila [686]. The boundaries of this *political* unit have shifted from west to east and from east to west in accordance with the temporary preponderance of either Iran or India, but the borders of the *geographical* unit have remained constant through the centuries.

§ 2. The identification of Sattagydia

Obviously, the satrapy of Parapamisadae is identical with the seventh district listed by Herodotus in his survey of the Persian fiscal districts *(νομοί)* [687] :

"The Sattagydians, Gandarians, Dadicae, and Aparytae paid a joint tax of 170 talents; it is the seventh district".

[684] Eggermont, *Alexander*, p. 118.
[685] Eggermont, *Alexander*, p. 68, note 19 : full details.
[686] Eggermont, *Alexander*, p. 120.
[687] Herodotus, *Historiae*, III, 91.

Olmstead has identified the Sattagydian district with *Θattaguš*, mentioned by the Old Persian inscriptions in connection with some countries belonging to eastern Iran and to India [688]. He supposes that it stretches along the slopes of the Hindu Kush [689]. The location is rather vague. It is though, possible to narrow down the limits of the area. Arrianus has handed down [690] :

"All the territory that lies west of the river Indus up to the river Cophen is inhabited by Astacenians and Assacenians, Indian tribes".

These two tribes figure in an extensive list of tribes handed down by Strabo [691] :

"Now after the Cophes follows the Indus; and the region between these rivers is occupied by Astaceni, Masiani, Nysaei, and Hypasii; and then one comes to the country of Assacanus, where is a city Mesoga, the royal seat of the country; and now near the Indus again, one comes to another city, Peucolaïtis, near which a bridge that had already been built afforded a passage for the army".

It is obvious that Strabo had borrowed this list from an Alexander history in which the successive stages along the track from Alexandria-Kāpiśī to Undabhāṇḍa in Gandhāra were enumerated in due order from west to east. Tucci has identified the Assacenians with the Indian tribe of the *Aśvakāyanāḥ* [692], and Caroe has located Mesoga in the Katgala pass leading from the Panjkora, Greek : Guraeus, valley into the Adinzai valley. Both the rivers are northern tributaries of the Swat river [693].

The Nysaei represent the inhabitants of the town of Dionysopolis, or *Nagarahāra*, near Jalalabad on the Kabul river in Afghanistan [694]. Therefore, the Masiani must have occupied the territory to the east of Jalalabad, possibly as far as the confluence of the Ghorband and the Kabul rivers so that the Astaceni should be sought for in the valley

[688] Kent, *op. cit.*, p. 119 : "... Parthia, Drangiana, Aria, Chorasmia, Bactria, Sogdiana, Gandara, Scythia, Sattagydia, Arachosia, Maka" (= Darius, Behistun, I, 6); *ibidem*, p. 136 : "... Parthia, Drangiana, Aria, Bactria, Sogdiana, Chorasmia, Sattagydia, Arachosia, Sind, Gandara, Scythians, Maka." (= Darius, Persepolis E, 2); *ibidem*, p. 138 : "... Parthia, Aria, Bactria, Sogdiana, Chorasmia, Drangiana, Arachosia, Sattagydia, Gandara, Sind, Amyrgian Scythians, Scythians with pointed caps, ... men of Maka ..." (= Darius, Naqš-i-Rustam A, 3).

[689] Olmstead, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

[690] Arrianus, *Indica*, 1, 1,

[691] Strabo, *Geogr.*, XV, 1, 27.

[692] Tucci, *Assakenoi*, p. 27-28.

[693] Caroe, *op. cit.*, p. 51-53.

[694] Tarn, *Bactria & India*, p. 159.

of the united Ghorband-Panjshir rivers. In view of this location and in connection with the similarity of the names it is probable that ASTACA, from which the name of the people, the ASTACENI, is derived, is a variant reading of the original Greek transcription of ΘATTAGUŠ. For the rest Herodotus's transcription SATTAGYDAE, *ΣΑΤΤΑΓΥΔΑΙ*, is not related to ASTACENI, *ΑΣΤΑΚΗΝΟΙ*. Herodotus had got his information from his Persian friend Zopyrus [695], and Arrianus as well as the other Alexander historians had borrowed their reading from a different source, viz. Ptolemaeus, or Aristobulus. Although both the transcriptions are derived from the original Θattaguš, they are independent the one from the other.

§ 3. The Darada tribesmen, or the gold-traders of Buner

Herodotus has preserved from oblivion a most interesting account of gold-mining in India [696] :

"I will say something of the method by which the Indians get their large supplies of gold, which enable them to bring to Persia the gold-dust I have already mentioned. Eastward of India lies a desert of sand; indeed of all the inhabitants of Asia of whom we have any reliable information, the Indians are the most easterly — beyond them the country is uninhabitable desert ... There are other Indians further north, in the neighbourhood of Caspatyrus and the country of Pactyice, who in their mode of life resemble the Bactrians. These are the most warlike of the Indian tribes, and it is they who go out to fetch the gold — for it is in this part of India that the desert lies. There is found in this desert a kind of ant of great size — bigger than a fox, though not so big as a dog. Some specimens which were caught there, are kept at the palace of the Persian king. These creatures as they burrow underground throw up the sand in heaps, just as our own throw up the earth, and they are very like ours in shape. The sand has a rich content of gold, and this the Indians are after when they make they make expeditions into the desert".

Herodotus had heard dim rumours about the Thar desert, which lies to the east of the Punjab and the Indus valley. Its centre lies in Western Rajputana. It is no real desert, but rather a steppe which in the extreme

[695] Wells, *op. cit.*, p. 37-47; Olmstead, *op. cit.*, p. 237, note 23, and p. 344. Zopyrus was the son of Megabyzus, the greatest general of the Persian empire in the times of Xerxes and Artaxerxes I, and the grandson of Zopyrus I, satrap of Babylon. In 441 B.C. he went over to Athens as a deserter. He commanded an Athenian contingent during the assault on Caunus, and was killed in action.

[696] Herodotus, *Historiae*, III, 98-102.

north is interspersed with cultivated oases. Herodotus had no knowledge of the tributaries of the Indus in the Punjab, and he must have supposed that the Indus was bordered by the Thar desert along the whole length of its course. Consequently he mixed up legendary matter about the Thar desert with rumours about a tribe of gold-finders and gold-traders in the extreme north-west of India. He has failed to mention the name of the tribe, but from the evidence supplied by Strabo it appears that they were called Derdae, *Δέρδαι* [697] :

"Nearchus says that the skins of gold-mining ants are like those of leopards. But Megasthenes speaks of these ants as follows : that among the Derdae, a large tribe of Indians living towards the east and in the mountains, there is a plateau approximately 3,000 stadia in circuit, and that below it are gold mines, of which the miners are ants, animals that are no smaller than foxes, are surpassingly swift, and live on the prey they catch. They dig holes in winter and heap up the earth at the mouths of the holes like moles; and the gold-dust requires but little smelting".

Ptolemaeus called this people Daradrae, variant reading : Deradrae, in the next passage [698] :

"Below the sources of the Coas river are the Lambagae, and their mountains extend up to the mountainous territory of the Comedae.
Below the sources of the Suastus lies Suastene, below those of the Indus are the Daradrae, and above them rise their mountains.
Below the sources of the Bidaspes, the Sandabal and the Aruadis lies Caspiria..."

It appears that Ptolemaeus has described the chain of mountains from west to east. The Coas river is identical with the Kabul river, and the present country of Lamghan, situated to the north of the Kabul, has preserved the ancient name of the Lambagae [699]. To the east of this area lies the Swat valley, or ancient Suastene. To the east of the Swat valley follows the country of the Daradrae, and then Kashmir, or ancient Kaspiria, where the Jhelum (= Sanskrit : Vitastā, Greek : Bidaspes), the Chenab (= Sanskrit : Candrabhāga, Greek : Sandabal), and the Ravi (= Sanskrit : Irāvatī, Greek : Aruadis) take their sources. It follows, therefore, that the country of the Daradrae was situated somewhere between Kashmir and the Swat valley to the north of the plain of Gandhāra in the mountainous area near the upper Indus.

Plinius had handed down similar data in the next text [700] :

697 Strabo, *Geogr.*, XV, 1, 44.
698 Ptolemaeus, *Geogr.*, VII, 1, 42.
699 Kabul river, see p. 175, note 677; Lamghan, see p. 151, and *ibidem*, note 575.
700 Plinius, *Nat. Hist.*, VI, 67.

"Next come the Andarae, a more powerful tribe, with a great many villages and 30 towns fortified with walls and towers; they furnish their king with 100,000 infantry, 4000 cavalry and 1000 elephants. The country of the Dardae produces gold in great quantity, and that of the Setae silver also".

The Dardae and the Setae represent a pair of geographical names corresponding to Ptolemaeus's Daradrae and Suastene. As Suastene is identical with the middle Swat valley which is situated to the north of the plain of Gandhāra, and as Plinius's string of toponyms consists of three elements : Andarae — Dardae — Setae, it is obvious that the "Andarae" must be identical with the "Gandarae" mentioned by Ptolemaeus in another context [701]. From this identification it follows that not only the Setae, but also the Dardae *alias* Daradrae are geographically connected with the Gandarae.

In this connection it is worth-while studying once more Herodotus's passage on the seventh Persian district, otherwise called Parapamisadae :

"The Sattagydians, Gandarians, Dadicae, and Aparytae paid a joint tax of 170 talents; it is the seventh district".

In the string of toponyms the Dadicae come next to the Gandarians in the same way as in Plinius's list the Dardae follow on the Andarae *alias* Gandarae. This fact points out first that the Dardae are identical with the Dadicae, and secondly that, presumably, they occupied the mountainous territory to the north of the plain of Gandhāra. For the rest this conclusion is corroborated by Herodotus's report on the military forces enlisted by Xerxes in 480 B.C. The Dadicae and Gandarae served under the same general, Artyphius, son of Artabanus, and both the tribes were equipped like the Bactrians [702].

As to the exact location of the tribe of the Dardae there exists additional evidence supplied by the Alexander historians. When Alexander invaded India, the first army under Perdiccas and Hephaestion conquered the plain of Gandhāra. Meanwhile the second army under Alexander subdued the Assaceni, or Aśvakāyanāḥ, who occupied the middle Swat valley to the north-west of the plain. Then Alexander went back to Gandhāra, and after having garrisoned Puṣkalāvatī and various other towns in the region he invaded Buner, which is situated to the north-east of the plain. There he took by force the Rock of Aornus, and then returned by the route leading to the town of Dyrta. He took the town and a few

[701] See p. 176, and *ibidem*, note 683.

[702] Herodotus, *Historiae*, VII, 66.

days afterwards he defeated the forces of Aphrices (Diodorus) *alias* Erices (Curtius) *alias* the brother of Assacenus (Arrianus) [703]. The location of the town of Dyrta depends upon the identification of the Rock of Aornus [704]. Perhaps it was situated near Daggar, the strategic centre in Buner. Anyway, the designation of the town reminds of the Dardae *alias* Daradrae. In my opinion it is not too far-fetched to identify the name of the town with the designation of the tribe. I have shown that they occupied the territory to the north of proper Gandhāra, and as it is certain that the north-western portion belonged to the Assaceni, it is evident that the north-eastern part should be attributed to the tribe of the Dardae. Therefore, the town of Dyrta must be supposed to have been the centre of the ancient Indian gold-finders and gold-traders.

In Sanskrit the name of this tribe is *Darada*. In the Purāṇas they are mentioned more than once, the most interesting text being as follows [705] :

"The Daradas together with the Kāshmirians, the Gāndhāras, the Aurasas, the Kuhus, the Śivapauras, the Indramarus, the Vasātis and the Visarjayas".

The tribes mentioned in the text belong to two different larger geographical areas, the Daradas up to and including the Kuhus occupying the north-western portion of the Indian subcontinent together with eastern Afghanistan, and the next tribes occupying the Punjab. I have shown that in the Old Persian period the Daradas lived in Buner, the Kashmirians in Kashmir, and the Gāndhāras in the plain of Gandhāra. The Aurasas occupied Uraśā, or modern Hazara, situated partly opposite to Buner, to the east of the Indus [706]. The Kuhus occupied the banks of the Kuhu, or Kabul river, in Afghanistan [707]. As to the remaining group, the Śivapauras are identical with the inhabitants of Śivapura, or modern Shorkot [708], and the Vasātis appear to have occupied parts of the territory drained by the lower Chenab, and to be situated between the confluence of that river with resp. the Ravi and the Indus [709].

[703] Eggermont, *Alexander*, p. 94-102.

[704] On Aornus, see p. 125, and *ibidem*, note 537.

[705] Daradāṃ-ś-ca sa-Kāśmīrān Gāndhārān Aurasān Kuhūn/
Śivapaurān Indramarūn Vasātīṃ-ś-ca Visarjayān/
(Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 61).

[706] Eggermont, *Alexander*, p. 105-106.

[707] See p. 175, note 677.

[708] See p. 142-143.

[709] See Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 61, note 10 (hypothesis).

The name of the Daradas reminds one of the Dardus, who live in the valley of the Darel, a northern tributary of the Indus [710]. The Darel valley lies in Kashmir, and perhaps it is for that reason that the Daradas are mentioned together with the Kashmirians in the Purāṇa text I have quoted. Nowadays the dialects spoken in the area of Kafiristan (= Nuristan) — Chitral — Dardistan are called Dardic tongues. Louis de la Vallée Poussin was first, I suppose, to have invented that designation [711]. For the rest, the name of Dardistan is rather recent. In that mountainous country many of the streams are rich in gold, especially those which flow from Hunza and Nagar and from the Indus above Chilas. Gold-washing is carried on in the winter chiefly by the poorer members of the population, though the work is often remunerative. At Chilas entire families live by the work. The gold is of fair quality, the best being twenty carats. The Bagrot valley is celebrated for gold-washing, and contains many signs of mineral wealth [712].

Summarizing the collected evidence I am inclined to conclude that the early Daradas of Buner represented a clan belonging to a much larger group which occupied the valleys of the tributaries of the Indus in Kashmir. The Daradas of Kashmir were the proper gold-finders, whereas the Daradas of Buner should be looked upon as gold-traders, who sold the gold of Dardistan in the market-town of Dyrta. The Daradas of Buner served in the army of Xerxes as, at the time, Buner was part of the satrapy of Parapamisadae, but their kinsmen in Dardistan lived outside the boundaries of the Achaemenid empire.

§ 4. The Aparytae of Udyāna

From the four tribes belonging to the seventh satrapy, otherwise called the satrapy of Parapamisadae, I have identified the Sattagydians, the Gandarians, and the Dadicae. As to the fourth tribe, the Aparytae, it appears from their position in the list, that they must have occupied the area bordering upon both, the plain of Gandhāra as well as the district of Buner. In this connection it is significant that Aphrices, the commander of Alexander's enemies in Buner, is designated by Arrianus as "brother of Assacenus" [713].

[710] The Darel joins the Indus in between Chilas and Sazin (long. 73° 44'), see Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 82-83.

[711] Vallée Poussin, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

[712] *Gazetteer*, XII, p. 238-242 (s.v. *Gilgit*), esp. p. 241.

[713] Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, IV, 30, 5-9.

The royal seat of the country of the Assacenians was Mesoga, which must have lain in the *western* portion of the river basin of the middle Swat valley [714]. From this fact it appears that Aphrices, the "brother of Assacenus", ruled over the *eastern* portion of the Swat river basin, which is commonly called Udyāna. There Alexander took the towns of Bazira, modern : Bīr-kōṭ, and Ora, modern : Uḍegrām. After the surrender of Ora a great many tribesmen fled from Udyāna to Buner, where they fortified the Rock of Aornus [715].

For this reason it is probable that Aphrices's army, which numbered no less than 20,000 soldiers, actually consisted of fugitives from Udyāna. As the Alexander historians used to call the Indian kings, governors and chiefs after the tribes, towns, or regions they ruled, it is possible that the name of Aphrices should be compared with the name of Udyāna itself.

Sylvain Lévi has shown that the name of *Udyāna*, or Garden, is derived by popular etymology from earlier *Uḍḍiyāna* [716]. On the other hand Stein has shown that the town of Uḍe-grām, or "village of Uḍe" represents the modern equivalent of the early town of Ora which was conquered by Alexander [717]. The cerebral consonant *ḍ* and the *r* are interchangeable. Tucci has pointed out that the Tibetan pilgrim Buddhadāsa (XVIth century A.D.) has noticed that Orgyan, which is the Tibetan name of Udyāna, is derived from Uḍḍiyāna because of the similarity of *ḍ* and *r* [718]. Moreover, Kātyāyana calls the country *Urdi*, and *Aurdāyānī* [719].

In my opinion the original name is *Urdi*, which by cerebralization turned into *Urḍi*, and subsequently by assimilation into *Uḍḍi*, from which the name of *Uḍḍiyāna* was derived.

The rival vṛddhi form of *Urdi* is *Aurdi*, which in the same way became *Aurḍi*, and afterwards *Auḍḍi*.

The name of Aphri-ces, *Ἀφρίκης*, points out that "Aphri-" can be regarded as the Greek transcription of the intermediary form *Aurḍi*, which to the Greeks sounded more or less like *aurri* because of the similarity of *ḍ* and *r*. It appears therefore, that indeed Aphrices was the governor of *eastern* Udyāna, while Assacenus was ruler of the *western* portion of the middle Swat river basin.

[714] See p. 178, and *ibidem*, note 693.

[715] Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, IV, 27,9-IV,28,1, *initio*; cf. Eggermont, *Alexander*, p. 101.

[716] Lévi, *Catalogue*, p. 105-110, esp. p. 109.

[717] Stein, *Tour Upper Swat*, p. 40.

[718] Tucci, *Pilgrims*, p. 4-5.

[719] *Vārtikka* on Pāṇini IV, 2, 99; complete survey of the problem in Tucci, *Report*, p. 324, note 1.

On the other hand "Apary-" in Apary-tae, *Ἀπαρύται*, the unidentified people of the seventh satrapy mentioned by Herodotus, is, probably, just another transcription of native *Aurḍi*. The Gandarians of the plain of Gandhāra, the Dadicae of Buner, and the Aparytae of Udyāna appear to be neighbouring tribes in the North West Province.

§ 5. Sisicottus, satrap of Udyāna, and Philippus, satrap of Taxila

After having conquered the Rock of Aornus Alexander appointed Sisicottus commander of the occupying forces [720] :

"Thus Alexander now held the rock that Heracles could not take, and he sacrificed there, and then established a guard there, appointing to command the guard Sisicottus, who had some time ago deserted from Bessus and come to Bactria; then when Alexander took Bactria he served under him and proved very trustworthy".

The name of Sisicottus corresponds to Sanskrit Śaśigupta, and to Prakrit Śaśigutta [721]. He seems to have been appointed as satrap of Udyāna shortly afterwards, for he is mentioned as such in connection with a rebellion which broke out some time before Alexander had defeated Porus at the Hydaspes [722] :

"There came also messengers from Sisicottus satrap of the Assacenians, to say that the Assacenians had assassinated their governor [723] and had broken away from Alexander. Against these Alexander sent Philippus and Tyriaspes with an army to subdue the territory of the Assacenians and bring it into order".

It seems that meanwhile Alexander had detached Udyāna and Buner from the satrapy of Parapamisadae, and had organized these countries into a separate satrapy under the commander of the garrison of the Rock of Aornus.

Tyriaspes was satrap of Parapamisadae, and he was, therefore, Sisicottus's former superior [724].

[720] Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, IV, 30,4.

[721] Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

[722] Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, V,20,7.

[723] viz. "hyparchus", *ὕπαρχος ;* Herodotus, *Historiae*, III, 120, translates "satrap" by "hyparchus". In Egypt this designation is unknown. In the Seleucid empire he is a subordinate of the "strategus", and of the "oeconomus", see Timmer, *op. cit.*, p. 226-227.

[724] See p. 175.

Philippus, the other general sent by Alexander to crush the rebellion, was a satrap as well. During the campaign in the Kabul valley he had served under Ptolemaeus son of Lagus, the future king of Egypt [725], and as soon as Alexander arrived at Taxila, he appointed him as satrap, most probably in order to keep an eye on the king of Taxila, Alexander's ally [726] :

"There also, at Taxila, Alexander offered the customary sacrifices, and held an athletic and cavalry contest. He appointed Philip son of Machates satrap of the Indians of this territory, and left behind a garrison, and any invalided soldiers he had; then he marched on towards the river Hydaspes".

It seems that Philippus had to control the plain of Gandhāra as well. When Alexander had conquered the Punjab,and was about to move on southward along the banks of the Hydaspes river, he issued the next orders [727] :

"Philip the satrap of the country west of the Indus, towards Bactria, had orders also to wait three days and then follow with his forces".

I suppose that Philippus acted as satrap of Parapamisadae only temporarily, because Alexander was not satisfied with Tyriaspes's administration. The appointment of Sisicottus as satrap of Udyāna points that way, and later on, when Alexander had reached the meeting of the rivers near Uch, he discharged Tyriaspes from his function [728] :

"And about this time Oxyartes the Bactrian, father of Roxane, Alexander's wife, came to visit Alexander; and Alexander gave him in addition the satrapy over the Parapamisadae, removing Tiryaspes, the former satrap, since Tiryaspes was reported to him to be conducting his office in a disorderly manner".

When Alexander retreated from India, Philippus remained behind, but soon he was treacherously killed [729] :

"Alexander had already begun his march towards Carmania, when it was reported to him that Philip the satrap of the Indians had been treacherously killed as the result of a plot against him by the mercenaries; but that the Macedonian bodyguards of Philip put to death the assassins, some in the act, and some they captured afterwards. On learning this he despatched letters to India to Eudamus and Taxiles bidding them take charge of the district formerly under Philip, until he should send a satrap to govern it".

[725] Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, IV, 24,10.
[726] Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, V,8,3.
[727] Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, VI, 2, 3.
[728] Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, VI, 15,3.
[729] Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, VI, 27,2.

From the wording of this passage it is evident that the satrapy of Philippus comprised the territory of the king of Taxila, viz. the area between the Indus and the Hydaspes to the north of the Salt range.

§ 6. The eastern boundaries of the Persian empire

Beyond the Hydaspes there did not exist any satrapies. After his victory over Porus at the Hydaspes river Alexander reinstated him in his previous power [730], and later on, after the conquest of the Punjab, he "proclaimed Porus King of so much of India as he had captured up to that time, that is, of seven nations in all, and of cities in these nations more than 2000 in number" [731].

Generally Alexander did not favour any great changes in the satrapal organization he had taken over from the former Persian empire, at least if there were no urgent reasons. Therefore, I feel that the Hydaspes river represented the easternmost boundary line of the Persian empire.

The only Indian countries mentioned in the Old Persian inscriptions are *Θattaguš*, or the upper Kabul valley, *Gandāra*, *Hinduš*, or Sind, and *Maka* (*Mačiyā*), or the Makran coast [732]. In my opinion this fact points out that when there were strong rulers like Darius I, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes I, the territory of Taxila was included in the satrapy of *Gandāra* alias *Paruparaesanna*, Moreover, a note handed down by Aristobulus, points that way [733]:

"and the dead are thrown out to be devoured by vultures".

This line refers to some novel and unusual customs the author observed at Taxila, and as this practice is ascribed by various classic authors to Iranian tribes [734], I am convinced that Taxila belonged to the territory of the Persian empire. Nontheless one should take into account also that during the decline of the empire the king of Taxila might have broken away from Persia. When Alexander planned his Indian campaign, the king of Taxila sent envoys to him, and behaved like an independent ruler. In fact he had considerable influence in the plain of Gandhāra as his son Omphis controlled the ferry over the Indus at Undabhāṇḍa [735].

730 Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, V,19,3.
731 Arrianus, *Anab. Alex.*, VI,2,1.
732 See p. 178, note 688; see also p. 63-64.
733 Strabo, *Geogr.*, XV, 1, 62.
734 See p. 61-62.
735 Eggermont, *Alexander*, p. 119.

On the other hand his overtures to Alexander point to ancient ties with the Persian empire, which had never been severed completely.

While to the north of the Salt Range the eastern frontier of the Persian empire was well established as there the Hydaspes represented the boundary, the political situation to the south of the range was rather unsettled.

In the Sind Sagar Doab, viz. the fork between the Chenab and the Indus, the territory was occupied by a sept of the Śibi tribe, the main group of which had established its head-quarters in the rugged borderland between the Indus valley and the Iranian plateau. The chief of the Śibi hill-tribes was temporarily appointed by Alexander as "satrap of the Indian hillmen". They were in control of the important caravan route leading from Kandahar in Arachosia through the Khojak and Bolan passess, and by the towns of Shikarpur and Sibi, to Alor on the Indus. In the times of the Persian empire the chief of the Śibis acted as an agent of the satrap of Arachosia. Anyway, the Malli, who lived on the banks of the Ravi, and the Sudracae, who occupied the area of the Sutlej river, used to pay tribute to the satrap of Arachosia, and for that reason I suppose that they did so by the intermediary of the chief of the Śibi tribes [736].

To the south of the junction of the Indus with its tributaries from the Punjab the eastern frontier of the Persian empire was well defined. There it coincided with the Thar desert which fringed the satrapy of Hinduš, or Sind. Summarizing I conclude that there were six satraps in India in Alexander's times : Tyriaspes of the Parapamisadae, Sisicottus of Udyāna, Philippus of Taxila, Sambus of the Indian hillmen, Peitho of Sind, and Apollophanes of the Sauvīras in the Las Bela plain.

[736] Curtius, *Hist. Alex.*, IX,7,14; see also p. 17. Sudracae is no tribal name, they are called after the Sutlej river, Sanskrit : Śutudru; cf. Ptolemaeus, *Geogr.*, VII,1, 42 : Zadadrus, and Plinius, *Nat. Hist.*, VI,63 : Sydrus.

SUPPLEMENT II

NEW EVIDENCE ON THE GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION OF PATALA

From Curtius's report on Alexander's retreat from India it appears that the distance from Patala to the mouth of the Hab river was 5 day's marches [737].

We are so fortunate as to have at our disposal some figures regarding the lengths of Alexander's day's marches during his march through the desert of Gedrosia [738] :

"And it was necessary also, on account of the wells, to make long marches of 200 or 300 stadia, and sometimes even 600, travelling mostly by night".

In contrast to the situation in Gedrosia Alexander did not need to accommodate the day's marches to unfavourable circumstances when he advanced from Patala to the Hab river. There was no shortage of water, or supplies, and there was no fighting. On the other hand Alexander was eager to occupy by surprise the territory of the Arabitae, an independent people, who might be expected to interfere with his crossing the Hab river. For this reason I suppose that during its march from Patala to the Hab the army covered about 200 stades a day so that the total distance should be estimated at $5 \times 200 = 1000$ stades, viz. 185 km., or $115^1/_2$ miles.

From this calculation it follows that Patala was situated somewhere between Hyderabad and Mansura/Bahmanabad [739].

In general Patala is supposed to have lain at some spot near Bahmanabad [740], but Bahmanabad lies too far from the mouth of the Hab river anyway. Al-Idrisi reports that the distance from Daybul, or present Banbhore, to Nirun, or present Hyderabad, is 3 day's marches, and the distance from Nirun to Mansura/Bahmanabad just over 3 day's

[737] See p. 102-103, and 105.
[738] Strabo, *Geogr.*, XV,2 6.
[739] On Mansura/Bahmanabad, see p. 27.
[740] Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

marches [741]. The total distance from Daybul to Mansura/Bahmanabad is, therefore, just over 6 day's marches, and as Daybul was situated about 60 km. (= 37 1/2 miles) to the *east* of Karachi, it appears that the number of day's marches from Mansura/Bahmanabad exceeds by far the 5 day's marches Alexander required when advancing from Patala to the Hab river.

It is for this reason that I have preferred locating Patala in the region of Nasarpur.

[741] Ahmad, *op. cit.*, p. 41-42 (= Al-Idrisi, *Kitāb*, II, 7, 8-9); identification of Daybul with Banbhore, see Wilhelmy, *Städte*, p. 267-270; on Nirun, predecessor of Hyderabad, see Wilhelmy, *Städte*, p. 290, and Ahmad, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

INDICES

In the indices the next abbreviations are adopted : A. = Alexander; geogr. = geographic(al); ident.w. = identical with; inscr. = inscription(s); n. = note; Ptolem. = Ptolemaeus geographicus; sit. = situated; Skt = Sanskrit; transl. = translation; v.l. = variant reading (varia lectio).

To the items of Index I I have joined several annotations for the use of readers not specialized in the relevant subjects.

INDEX I

INDEX OF SOURCES AND AUTHORS

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Aristobulus, son of Aristobulus : author of a *History of Alexander*, main source of Arrianus, 1, 107; date of his book, 3-4; at his disposal an incomplete edition of Nearchus's *Periplus*, 53; repaired Cyrus' tomb, commanded a reconnoitring-party in India, n. 14; studied the inundations and shifting course of the Indus, 14-15, the flora and fauna of the Punjab, 110-111, 116, and of Gedrosia, 117, and the customs at Taxila, 187.

Aristoteles, n. 458; prominent philosopher and empiric scientist, 384-322 B.C.; son of Nicomachus, royal physician at the Macedonian court; pupil of Plato; teacher of A. from 342 to 340 B.C.; founded the Peripatetic school of philosophy; author of 146 books, of which 18 items have been preserved.

Augustinus, n. 511; lived A.D. 354-430; at first a Manichaean; introduced to Ambrosius at Rome, and converted to Christianity; appointed bishop in Africa, A.D. 395; author of a.o. the *De Civitate Dei*, an apologetic writing in which he set forth a philosophy of history based on Christian principles.

Avesta, 145; the Zoroastrian religious Canon, preserved by the Parsis in India.

Bhāgavata Purāṇa, or Purāṇa of the Bhāgavatas, viz. Vishnuites; fifth major Purāṇa, traditionally ascribed to Vopadeva, XIIIth century A.D., but, probably, much earlier; see Purāṇa, and Index V.

Bibliotheca Historica by Diodorus; see Index V.

Buddhadāsa, Tibetan pilgrim to the Swat valley, XVIth century A.D., 184.

Cicero, Marcus Tullius : biography, n. 488; 127-128, n. 441.

Clitarchus : author of a *History of Alexander*, n. 25, n. 28, n. 102, 20, 23, 72; problem of the date of his book (Clitarchus problem), 3-4; *annus a quo* : 258 B.C., n. 262, 114; *annus ante quem* : 44 B.C., 128; lived in the IInd century B.C., n. 262, 114, 128; used as a source by Diodorus and Curtius, e.g. insertion of details of the Musicanus war in the report of the Sambus war, 22-24, and identification of the Fish-eaters with the Nearti, i.e. Oritans, n. 368, 71-72, 94, 102; extravagant style, n. 28, n. 369, 4, 94; pro-Ptolemaic propaganda, 112-114; shifted siege of Harmatelia from Oritene to the Indus valley, 127, 130; perhaps ident.w. the author who handed down to Plinius a line of Aśoka's Graeco-Aramaic edict, 64-67, 172.

Clitarchus problem; see Clitarchus.

Comment on the Uttarajjayana Sutta; see Devendra Sūri, *Uttarajjhayana Sutta*, and Index V.

Ctesias of Cnidus, n. 25; court-physician of Artaxerxes II, 404-358 B.C., author of *Persica*, and *Indica*, at present only known from fragments quoted by other authors.

Curtius · biography, n. 8; sources of his *Historia Alexandri*, 4, 22-24, 71-72, 102.

Damis of Niniveh, n. 173; disciple of Apollonius of Tyana; wrote memoirs which Philostratus used as a source.

De Divinatione by Cicero; see Index V.

De Natura Animalium by Aelianus; see Index V.

Devendra Sūri, or Devendragaṇi, 156; Jain author, XIth century A.D.; wrote a comment on the *Uttarajjhayana Sutta*, entitled *Sukhabodha*, completed in A.D. 1073.

Dīghanikāya, or Collection of the Long Discourses, first division of the second part of the Triple Basket, *Tipiṭaka*, of the Theravāda sect of the Hīnayānic school of Buddhism, which spread from Ceylon over South-East Asia; written in Pali; chronology of the Canon not determined, but a nucleus existed in Aśoka's times, and portions of it are known to have been handed down orally in the Śunga period (186-74 B.C.); according to tradition written down in books during the reign of Vaṭṭagāmini Abhaya (29-17 B.C.); see Index V.

Diodorus : biography, n. 7; sources of his chapter on Alexander in the *Bibliotheca Historica*, 4, 22-24, 71-72 94, 135-136.

Divyāvadāna : details, 148-149; see Index V.

Epitoma Historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi by Justinus; see Index V.

Eratosthenes, n. 13; scientist, writer and poet from Cyrene, c. 275-195 B.C.; appointed by Ptolemaeus III as director of the Library of Alexandria; author of the *Geographia*, now lost, but used by Strabo as a source.

Ethnica by Stephanus of Byzantium; see Index V.

Fa hsien, 141; Chinese Buddhist pilgrim; pilgrimage : A.D. 399-414; travelled for 6 years from Ch'ang-an by both the Turkestans and Afghanistan to India; studied there for another 6 years; went back by ship from Bengal to Ceylon; studied there for 2 years; returned to China by ship past Java; author of the *Fo-kwo-ki*, a record of his travels.

Geographia by Ptolemaeus; see Index V.

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Harivaṃśa, or Genealogy of Hari, viz. Vishnu; epos regarded as a supplement to the *Mahābhārata*; belongs to the Puranic *genre*; later than the IVth century A.D.; see Index V.

Herodotus : biography, n. 441.

Hieronymus, n. 511; prominent theologian, A.D. 347-419; published the revised edition of the Latin bible known as *Editio Vulgata*.

Historia Alexandri by Curtius; see Index V.

Historiae by Herodotus; see Index V.

Historiae adversum Paganos by Orosius; see Index V.

Historiae by Polybius; see Index V.

Historia Plantarum by Theophrastus; see Index V.

History of Alexander by Aristobulus; lost with the exception of extensive fragments quoted by other authors.

History of Alexander by Clitarchus; lost with the exception of a number of fragments quoted by other authors.

History of Alexander by Onesicritus; lost with the exception of a number of fragments quoted by other authors.

History of Alexander by Ptolemaeus I Soter; see *Royal Diaries*.

History of Alexander by Timagenes; see Timagenes.

History of Parthia by Apollodorus of Artemita; lost with the exception of a few fragments quoted by other authors.

Hsi-yü-chi (*Si-yu-ki*), or Record of the Western World; see Hsüan tsang.

Hsüan tsang, 139, 141, 151, 152, 155; Chinese pilgrim, A.D. 603-664; travelled to India by the northern Silk route through both the Turkestans, and by Afghanistan, paid a visit to many towns in the Indus valley, Gangetic plain, and the Dekkhan, and returned to China by Afghanistan and the southern Silk route through the Turkestans, 629-645 B.C.; collected during his travels 657 sacred Buddhist books, of which he himself translated 74 items; his travels described by an anonymous disciple of his in the *Hsi-yü-chi*; see Index V.

Ibn Khurradādhbih, n. 37; a Persian, director of the post service in Media; died A.D. 912; author of *al-Masālik w'al-Mamālik*, or Routes and Kingdoms, published in A.D. 846, and followed by an extended edition; only abbreviated copies of both the books have been preserved.

Ibn Sīnā, or Avicenna, n. 590; Persian philosopher, physician, and scientist, A.D. 980-1037; wrote 99 books, the leading ones being the *Kitāb al-Shifā'*, or Book of Healing, a philosophic encyclopaedia, and *al-Qānūn fi al-Ṭibb*, or Canon of Medicine; the latter one transl. into Latin by Gerald of Cremona in the XIIth century A.D. : *Canonum Medicinae libri V*.

Il Milione by Marco Polo; see Index V.

Indica by Arrianus; see Index V.

Inscriptions : Old Persian inscr., 145-146, 176, 178, 187; n. 688, see Index V : s.v. Darius I; Aśoka : Rock Edicts of Shahbazgarhi, 139; Graeco-Aramaic inscr. of Kandahar, 63, 65-67, 172, 176, see Index V, s.v. Aśoka; Rock Edict no. 8, 66, see Index V, s.v. Aśoka; Gunda inscr., 49; Nasik inscr., 50; Junagarh inscr., 145; Shorkot inscr., 143, see Index V.

I-tsing, 148; Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, A.D. 634-713; travelled by ship to India by Śrīvijaya (Palembang, Sumatra) and by Malaya; studied for 10 years at Nālandā, left India, studied for 4 years in Śrīvijaya, and returned to China, A.D. 671-689; went once again to Śrīvijaya, studied there for 5 years, and returned, A.D. 689-695; collected 400 books, and translated 56 items; published *A Record of the Buddhist religion as practiced in India and the Malay archipelago*, and *Memoirs on eminent monks who went in search of the Law in the Western Countries*.

Jātakas, 139, 140; or Birth-tales, a collection of tales of previous existences of the Buddha; they belong to a commentary on the verses which are likewise called *Jātakas*, and which form part of the Buddhist Canon; the commentary dates from the Vth century A.D.; the verses and the subject

material date from an undetermined very early period.

Jinamitra, 148; together with two other Indian pundits he was invited by Ral-pa-chen, king of Tibet (A.D. 817-836), to translate Buddhist books from Sanskrit into Tibetan, or to revise earlier translations.

Julius Valerius : biography, n. 280.

Justinus : biographical details, 131.

Kātyāyana, 184; Sanskrit grammarian, who published critical annotations, *Vārttikāni*, on Pāṇini's grammar; lived, perhaps, in the Maurya period (317-186 B.C.).

Kitāb Nuzhat al-mushtāq fi'khtirāq al-'āfāq, or Book of of Recreation of him who yearns to traverse the lands, by Al-Idrīsī; see Index V.

Klui Rgyal-mthsan (Lui Gyaltsen), 148; Tibetan member of the commission ordered by king Ral-pa-chen to translate Indian books; see Jinamitra.

Mahābhārata, or Extensive (story of the war) of the Bharatas, voluminous Indian epos, traditionally ascribed to Vyāsa, but in fact compiled in the course of the IVth century B.C. to the IVth century A.D.; survey of the principal recensions, n. 525; see Index V.

Mahā-māyūrī-vidyā-rājñī : details, 60-61; see Index V.

Marco Polo, 68, n. 581; Venetian merchant, A.D. 1254-1324; travelled across Asia from Venice to Qubilai Khan, A.D. 1271; appointed governor of Nanking, A.D. 1282-1285; returned to Europe partly by ship to Ormuz, and partly by land from Ormuz to Constantinople, and arrived in A.D. 1295; author of *Il Milione*, or Book of a Million (Marvels).

Marinus of Tyrus, n. 147; Greek geographer, c. A.D. 110; published a revised map of the world, based on the latest information; used as a source by Ptolem., who adapted it to his own view on the matter; lost with the exception of Ptolem.'s quotations.

Mas'ūdi, of Baghdad, n. 38; travelled to many countries of Asia, and to Zanzibar; wrote a historio-geographical book in 30 volumes, which has survived in an epitome, entitled *Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems*, A.D. 947; he died in A.D. 956.

Megasthenes : stayed at the court of Sibyrtius, satrap of Arachosia and Gedrosia, n. 400; travelled often to Pāṭaliputra to visit Candragupta, king of India (317-293 B.C.); wrote the *Indica*, which has got lost with the exception of extensive fragments quoted by other authors.

Milinda-pañha, or Questions of Milinda, viz. the Graeco-Bactrian king Menander; it is a Theravāda Buddhist manual, written in Pāli, and comprises 7 books, of which part of the first, the second, and the third form the ancient nucleus originally written in Prakrit for the use of the Sarvāstivādin sect in North-West India; the other books were joined to the Pāli version from the Vth century A.D.; see Index V.

Naturales Historiae by Plinius; see Index V.

Nearchus : ordered by A. to skirt the shore of the Arabian Sea and the Persian Gulf, 24, 93, 132; remained a few months at the naval base on the salt lake, 90, and left in september 325 B.C., 33; sailed along the eastern Indus branch, 33; anchored at Crocala, 11, 24, 37, in Alexander's Harbour, 37, 43, off Domai & Sacala, 45, in Ladies' Harbour, 46, in the mouth of the Arabis river, 47, off Pagala, 69, off Cabana, 69-70, off Cocala where he met Leonnatus, 70-71, in the outlet of the Tomerus river, 77, where he defeated the natives, 64, 77, 160, n. 300, off Malana, the last point of India, 77; sailed along the coast of the Fish-eaters, and anchored off Bagisara,

Colta, and Calyba, 81; decorated by A. at Susa, 101; wrote a record of the voyage, a *Periplus*, 2, 34, 53, 72.

Onesicritus : helmsman of the royal vessel during A.'s voyage down the Indus, n. 18, 101; helmsman of Nearchus during the coastal voyage, n. 18; decorated by A. at Susa, 101; wrote a *Periplus* and a *History of Alexander*, 2.

Orosius : biography, n. 511.

Pāṇini, n. 719; the most eminent of all Sanskrit grammarians, native of Śalātura in Gandhāra, son of Dākṣī, and grandson of Devala; supposed to have lived in the IVth century B.C.; author of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, or Eight Chapters, which establishes the standard of Sanskrit.

Patrocles : biographical details, and date of his *Record on the Caspian Sea*, 1, n. 13.

Periplus by Nearchus; lost with the exception of extensive fragments quoted by other authors.

Periplus by Onesicritus; lost with the exception of a few fragments quoted by other authors.

Periplus, or *Periegesis*, by Scylax of Caryanda, the earliest known record of that type; lost with the exception of a number of fragments quoted by other authors.

Periplus Maris Erythraei by the "Skipper"; see Index V.

Philostratus : biography, n. 173.

Plato, n. 458; of Athens, 427-347 B.C.; the most prominent philosopher of European history, creator of the doctrine of Platonic Ideas.

Plinius Maior : biography, n. 16; possessed a defective manuscript of Nearchus's *Periplus*, 34, 51.

Plutarchus : biography, n. 94.

Polybius, n. 95, 173; lived c. 201-120 B.C.; prominent politician of the Achaean League; deported to Rome as a hostage, 167 B.C.; introduced in the literary circle of Scipio Aemilianus; author of the *Historiae*, a history of the Mediterranean lands from 264 to his own time in 40 books; only books 1-5, and fragments of the greater part of the others have survived.

Pompeius Trogus : biography, n. 502; 131-133.

Ptolemaeus geographicus : biography, n. 147; influence on Arab geographers, n. 37; problem of the construction of his maps, 70; applies the postulate of geographical symmetry, 85; uses, indiscriminately, unreliable data supplied by the Alexander romance, 89.

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Purāṇa, or Antiquity, 50, n. 200; 18 major Purāṇas, which have 5 characteristics in common : description of the creation, of the second creation after the destruction of the previous world, the geneologies of gods and saints, the world-periods, and the summing-up of royal dynasties; compiled from early material in the course of the IVth to the XIVth century A.D.

Quaestiones Naturales by Seneca; see Index V.

Record on the Caspian Sea by Patrocles; lost with the exception of a few passages quoted by other authors.

Res Gestae Alexandri Macedonis by Julius Valerius Alexander Polemo.

Ṛg-veda, 139, n. 529; or Veda of Strophes, first of the four Vedas; consists of 10 Maṇḍalas, or Circles, the earliest hymns being found in the Maṇḍalas II-VII, to which I, IX, and still

later X have been added; chronology not established.

Royal Diaries, or *History of Alexander*, by Ptolemaeus I Soter; lost with the exception of fragments quoted by other authors.

Śaktisaṅgama Tantra : details, 59, n. 231; see Index V.

Sanghabhara : details, 60-61; also spelt Saṃghabhaṭa, Saṃghabhadra, or Saṃghavarman, A.D. 460-524; went from South Cambodia to Nanking in the Ch'i period (A.D. 479-502); was favoured by Leang Wu-ti (A.D. 502-549) with the task of translating Buddhist books, a.o. the *Aśokāvadāna*, *A-yu-wang king*.

Scylax of Caryanda : details, 168; author of a *Periplus*.

Seneca, L. Annaeus, n. 69; lived A.D. 4-65; exiled by Claudius; appointed teacher of young Nero, A.D. 49; for 5 years minister of Nero, but then discharged and put to death; author of essays, and scientific books, which for the greater part have survived.

Sivi Jātaka, 139-140; see *Jātaka*.

Skipper : biographical details, n. 164, 39, 40.

Stephanus of Byzantium, 94; lived c. A.D. 300; author of *Ethnica*, a historio-geographic encyclopaedia, of which only fragments have survived.

Stocks, J. Ellerton : biography, n. 463; 121.

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Sung yün, 139; Chinese pilgrim, sent by Empress Hou of the Northern Wei (A.D. 515-528) to North-West India; he paid a visit to the khan of the Hephthalites, or White Huns, in Badakhshan, and went as far as Udyāna and Gandhāra (pilgrimage, A.D. 518-523).

Ta'rikhu'l-Hind, or History of India, by Al-Bērūnī; see Index V.

Theophrastus : biography, n. 458.

Timagenes : n. 28; author of a *History of Alexander*, now lost; source of Curtius; further data lacking.

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Vendidad, n. 556; or Code against the demons, *vidaeva dāta*; forms the third division of the *Avesta*; its first chapter supplies interesting geographical details.

Vessantara Jātaka, 139-140; see Jātakas.

Vinaya, or Rules of Discipline, second part of the Triple Basket of the Theravāda Buddhists of Ceylon and South-East Asia.

Vinaya of the Mūla-Sarvāstivādins, 148, 174; though the original text is in Sanskrit (Gilgit MSS), which seems to point out a rather late date, it shows striking correspondences with the one of the Theravādas of Ceylon.

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